



The Reliquary

&

Illustrated Archæologist.

JULY, 1901.

The Villages and Churches of the Hundred of Willington, in Sussex.

(Continued).

THE high hill which holds the little church and mill of Friston up against the sky-line forms the western wall of the valley wherein lies the village of *East Dean*, and so near is the one to the other that they are almost within a stone's throw.

The near neighbourhood of these Southdown villages and their churches, contemporaneous as most of them are, is a somewhat noteworthy condition. It emphasises, without doubt, the fact of the concentration of the rural population of the south-east of England in Saxon and Norman times, in the open localities of the hills, as contrasted with the scantier and more isolated villages in the woodland country of the Weald, where they are further apart, and their churches, as a rule, of later date. For there these "local habitations" collected as the clearings in the forest land were multiplied, and the numerous localities whose names terminate in "hurst" and "field" sufficiently indicate their origin in the wide woodlands of the Weald.

146 *Villages and Churches of Willingdon.*

Domesday, although it omits in its census many churches which, without doubt, were in existence when it was compiling, yet affords some evidence on this point, for out of one hundred and two Sussex churches recorded therein, not one quarter are located in the district



of the Weald. During several succeeding centuries somewhat similar conditions prevailed, for county maps of the seventeenth century show (in round numbers) about one hundred and seventy villages in the Southdown country having "church-marks" as compared with one hundred in the Weald.

But to return to East Dean. It is a typical Southdown village, situated at the head of a valley which winds in a south-westerly direction towards the sea. The western side of this vale is steep and well clothed with woods, which shelter not only the main village, but also, about half a mile to the south, the large farmstead of Birling, whose extensive barns and outbuildings show traces, in the quoins, large blocked windows, and various moulded stones, of the great mediæval hall where the Bardolphs, Lords of Berlyng, once dwelt. The Manor of Berling has experienced many vicissitudes in ownership; as early as the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries it was in the possession of five different families at various times. It does not appear to have ever included the Manor of East Dean, in which parish it is situated, for the Etchingham were Lords of East Dean during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.



East Dean in 1784.

In its situation, the church of East Dean differs from the large majority of country churches (which so commonly occupy a high, if not the highest, point in the village) in being placed in the very bottom of the valley. No mention is made of the church in *Domesday*, and the manor appears therein to have been of very small value. Yet the church shows many evidences of quite early Norman foundation. Its fabric presents traces of so many considerable changes and vicissitudes through the Norman and Early English periods up to the modern alterations that it is difficult to interpret all their meaning, or, indeed, to be certain as to their date. To-day the church consists of chancel, nave, south porch, and a tower at the north-east of the nave. The chancel, which inclines very markedly to the north, is lighted by an east window only, of the Perpendicular

style, and having two lights. A drawing by Lambert in 1784 shows a window in the same style, but having three lights and its lower third blocked with masonry. Horsfield, in his *History of Sussex*, says that its upper compartments contained the arms of the Gilbert family. Inside, north and south of this window, are the remains of banded nook shafts of Early English character. In the north wall is seen the framework of what were once two deeply splayed windows, also of thirteenth century date, now blocked up both externally and within. At the time of Lambert's drawing they were apparently open. In the south wall are two similarly placed windows of the earlier Norman period, also blocked up throughout. Near them, to the west, is another blocked window, of Early English work, and lower placed, reaching to within about two feet and a half of the chancel floor. The stonework of all these windows is of a very rude character, and those in the south wall are decidedly out of the perpendicular. The chancel arch is very plain, of the Early English period. The nave contains several features which afford the ecclesiologist scope for the exercise of his interpretative faculties. In the first place, there are indications that at an early period there was a south aisle, transept, or chapel, for in the wall at the south-east of the nave are the remains of an arch springing from a plainly-moulded abacus above a chamfered respond; the whole of Early English date. In the wall beneath this blocked arch is a small rectangular recess, having a floriated cross incised on its floor.

The present windows in this south wall are in the Perpendicular style, while outside the whole is covered with that hideous coat of plaster which too often in modern restorations effectually conceals all traces of the original features of the church. The south door, entered from a porch, is of Early English date. Near it is a stoup or holy-water basin, trefoil-headed, the cusps being tipped with the ball-flower ornament so characteristic of the Decorated style. West of the door stands the font, circular in form, the greater part of which is a reproduction, copied from the fragment now incorporated in it, of the earliest of the series of fonts which the church, at various periods, has possessed. Of these four baptismal basins, the two most modern do not require any notice. The font of the Decorated period lies in a fragmentary condition in the church-yard. It is octagonal in form, with panelled, traceried sides. The present one, as already mentioned, is a reproduction of the early Norman font, and is ornamented with reticulated bands and rows of pellets.

The west end of the nave has two hideous modern windows. In the north wall is an Early English doorway, now blocked up,

as is the case in the great majority of the churches of this county. How this so, usually comes about is a debateable point. The explanation which most readily presents itself is that the burial-ground on the north side of the church became filled with interments sooner than the south part; hence the north doors, through which the bodies were borne as the shortest way to the place of sepulture, ceased to be needed, and were consequently blocked up. But this theory only leads to the question as to whether the north side was preferred as the last resting-place of the dead. Possibly it was, in order that they might lie, literally, under the shadow of the church. Yet this hardly accords with the alleged preference in early Christian times for burial on the south side; in the porch for the higher ranks, near the porch for the humbler laity, in order that the living entering for worship might the more readily remember the departed in their



prayers—for the porches and principal entrances to the churches were almost invariably on the south. East of this blocked doorway is a Perpendicular window, and still further east are the remains of a blocked round-headed arch, which at some early period was dis-established, if we may use the term, and an arch, higher and of much greater span, was built, two feet and a half to the eastward. This arch was apparently round-headed, and its eastern extremity must have extended in that case to within the chancel, and, in consequence, beyond the junction of the east wall of the tower on to the chancel. This arch was, at some subsequent period, blocked up in its turn, and a segmental-headed doorway into the tower inserted beneath, close to its western jamb. The head of this doorway is very much grooved on the tower side by the friction of bell ropes.

Still another alteration was made when this doorway was blocked up, and another entrance, the present pointed-arched one, made into the tower.

This tower preserves some of the most ancient features of the church. Square, massive, and without buttresses, it rises in four stages, and is crowned by a pyramidal roof. In the west wall of the ground stage a Norman doorway opens into it from without, and it is lighted by a window of the same date in the north wall. In the east wall is a large semi-circular headed archway, now blocked up, extending almost from the north wall to the south. This was evidently the opening into an oratory or apsidal east-end, for in the ground outside may be seen laid bare the foundations of an arc of masonry projecting eastwards about five feet.

Lying on the floor of this ground stage of the tower are the fragments of a sculptured tomb-slab, having thereon a long Latin cross *botoné*; over it a shield of early form, having on the dexter half *semé* of cross crosslets, three cinquefoils, the arms of the Bardolphs; on the sinister half a lion rampant, possibly as indicating a marriage into the house of Arundel or Fitzalan. The upper stages of the tower have round-headed windows, which are much smaller than as they appear in Lambert's drawing.

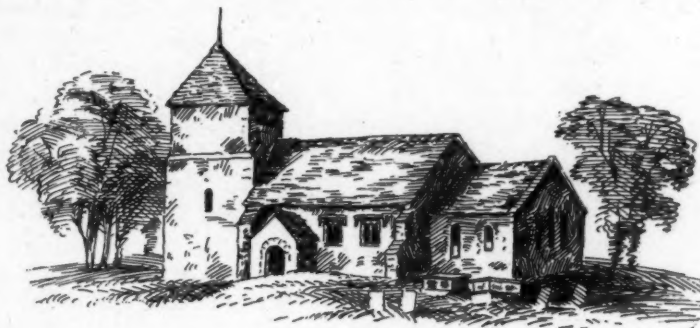
The belfry stage contains three bells, one of which is dated 1640; the other two are of pre-Reformation date. One of them bears the inscription: "Sancte Jacobe ora pro nobis"; the other jauntily declares, "Truly there's not a better bell under heaven than I"—"me melior vere non est campana sub ere." The pulpit of this church is a very good specimen of Jacobean carving. The churchyard is entered through a "tapsel" gate (a long, low gate working on a central pivot), as at Friston, Jevington, and a few other South-down churches.

Some three miles to the north-west of East Dean lies the village of *Jevington*, in the heart of that Southdown district which lies between the very modern village of Polegate and the sea. This parish contains some interesting features, survivals of the past. Not the least picturesque of these is an ancient timber-framed house, nestling among trees under the shelter of the Down, at the head of Filching glen, a mile or so north of the village. It is apparently of early sixteenth century date, although it has a reputed age of five hundred years. It is now divided into cottages; two hundred years ago it was a residence of the Rochester family.

Jevington Place, near the church, is also an ancient dwelling, once of some pretensions, now a farmhouse.

The church is dedicated to St. Andrew, and is a rectory and also a manor. It has undergone such a thorough restoration in the early seventies that some obscurity has resulted as regards some of its original features. It consists of chancel, nave, north aisle, south porch, and a tower at the west end. The chancel is entered through an Early English arch, which, with its sub-arch, is plain and unchamfered, springing from imposts, very simply moulded, over plain rectangular responds. On either side of this arch is a plain arched opening of similar character.

The east wall of the chancel is pierced by a group of three long, narrow windows with cusped heads, which, internally, are under one wide arch. In the south wall of the chancel is a trefoil-headed piscina with a shelf. Above it is a lancet window, and



Jevington Church in 1784.

further west is a longer window with a trefoiled head and a flat sill, evidently once a low side-window. In Grimm's drawing of the eighteenth century church, the different sill levels of these windows are plainly seen, albeit both have their lower halves blocked up. In the north chancel wall is a lancet window, similar to that in the south wall, and beneath it is a square aumbry. Under a pointed arch in this wall stands the organ, and behind it is the modern vestry.

The little north aisle is divided from the nave by two pointed chamfered arches and sub-arches, over a central circular pier. From this central pier a small pointed chamfered arch extends across the narrow aisle to its north wall. The object of this very unusual feature is uncertain; possibly it is a kind of internal buttress to the nave wall. This wall has also an Early English chamfered doorway between its eastern arch and the chancel. The windows of the aisle are very small, plain lancets, with wide inner splays. The west

end has a square-headed Perpendicular window. In the south wall of the nave, which has a waggon-roof, is the inner opening of the porch, a semi-circular headed arch. East of it are two Perpendicular windows; to the west is a narrow window with a trefoil head.

The tower arch is semi-circular, with a sub-arch and rectangular piers; all plain, with the exception of a slightly hollow chamfer at the imposts. These imposts are continued along the west wall as a string-course. On either side of this tower arch is a smaller archway of the same character, a group of openings which possibly

influenced the similar arrangement at the chancel opening, in a later style. In the ground storey of the tower stands the font, square in form, with polygonal engaged columns at the angles and panelled sides. The belfry contains two bells, one of which is dated 1698. The other, of pre-Reformation date, is inscribed, "Sauncta Katerina ora pro nobis," and ornamented with various marks and stops, among them being a shield charged with the arms of England first adopted by Henry V., who substituted, in the first and third quarters, three lilies, in place of a "semé" or studding, of the same, previously borne. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the same devices, cross, letters, and peculiarities of spelling are on



Sculptured Stone in Jevington Church.

William Legge del.

bells at St. Margaret's, Durham, and our Jevington bell. It may be explained either by the dispersal of the plant, including the patterns and stamps, at the death of a bell-founder or the disposal of the business, or by the great number of bells cast by one firm. For instance, one family of Gloucester bell-founders continued casting bells from 1684 to 1774, and the number they cast amounted to as many as 3,594.

An interesting find was made in the floor of this belfry more than a hundred years ago, when Sir William Burrell

discovered there a sculptured stone figure, evidently of Saxon date. It has been variously described as Christ bruising the serpent's head; St. Michael the Archangel; St. George and the dragon; and "a monumental image of a pilgrim." The only ground for the last supposition is the form of the nimbus, which is said by the theorist to be scallop-shaped; but a close examination convinces me that it is cruciform. For the second theory I can see no reasons but the triumphant attitude of the figure and the cross-headed spear entering the mouth of the dragon or beast, as is seen on the "angel" coins of the Plantagenets. As regards the St. George and the dragon theory, the very martial attitude of the figure and the indications of the border of a shield at his left side possibly suggested it. But in my opinion the cruciform nimbus is conclusive as to the correctness of the first identification, and it is so described in Romilly Allen's *Early Christian Symbolism*. The accompanying drawing (the first that has been published of this very interesting sculpture) will give a better idea of it than any description. It need only be added that the stone measures two feet in height, and is now to be seen—dimly and afar off—above the south door.

In the outside of the tower are to be seen the evidences of its very early origin, in spite of modern radical alterations. It is a very massive structure, of two stages, and without buttresses, and is capped by a low pyramidal roof. It has a west door of "modern Norman" style, and two small windows of the same character in its north and south walls, in the ground stage. Above each of these there appear in the flint walls the remains of the head of a small brick-framed window. Like similar relics of Saxon architecture found elsewhere, these bricks are flat, almost tile-like in form, and set with the edges outward. Apparently these windows were not round-headed, but incline—especially that in the south wall—to be obtusely angular. High up in the tower there are some flints set in a herring-bone fashion. At the north-east quoin the stones are decidedly suggestive of "long-and-short" work. Two large "modern Norman" windows occupy the belfry stage, while under the eaves are round sound-holes.

The north-east entry to the churchyard is through a "tapsel" gate.

The present registers of this church commence in 1661, but an earlier one of 1536 was among the MSS. "acquired" by one Sneyd, a rector of Jevington in the eighteenth century.

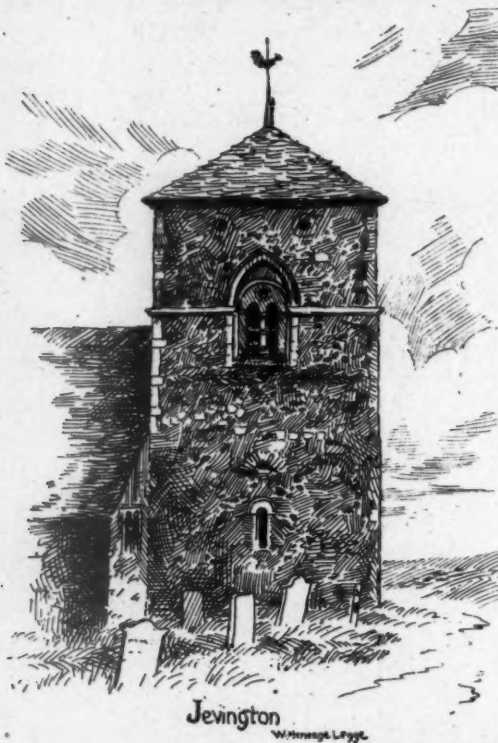
About three miles to the east of Jevington, and north of Eastbourne, is the village of *Willingdon*, lying along a ridge of land

154 *Villages and Churches of Willingdon.*

which slopes downwards from the hills. It is the largest village in the Hundred, and, as of yore, gives its name to it.

The manor formerly extended into the parishes of Chiddingly, Hellingly, and Eastbourne. When granted by Queen Elizabeth to Lord Buckhurst it paid to the Crown £73 10s. and one pound of pepper.

Equally ancient with Willingdon is the manor of Ratton, in the same parish, where Mr. F. Freeman-Thomas, M.P., has his seat. In



the Domesday Survey it is valued at £6, and appears to have comprehended three sub-manors. The present manorhouse is quite modern, the older one having been burnt down in 1891.

There are some picturesque remains of a yet older house, of early Tudor date, and the old gatehouse, still occupied, is a relic of that larger dwelling where Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, was born. In the neighbouring stable-yard is an old pump bearing the date 1784; while a more ancient utensil, a leaden cistern with

patterned panelled sides, is dated 1744. Near by a broad flight of stone steps leads up to a terrace shaded by a row of ancient yews; yclept "the twelve apostles."

The church, situated in the middle of the village, was described by the worthy Horsfield as "an ancient building of mean appearance." Drawings made by Grimm and Lambert, about 1780, show it to have mainly the same aspect as it has to-day, the tower differing now in the possession of two additional angular buttresses of brick-



work and a new south door. It is a larger edifice than the usual country church, although not approaching in size to the fine old neighbouring church of Eastbourne. At the present day, Willingdon church consists of a chancel, nave, north aisle, south porch, and a tower at the west end of the aisle. The chancel arch is of a simple Early English character. Its east window is in the Decorated style, and beneath it is a modern carved reredos, with figures of the four Evangelists.

In the south wall is a trefoil-headed piscina, the cusps of which have been much mutilated. In the north wall is a square aumbry, near which is a marble ornament, dated 1617, to Sir Jhn. Parker, Knt., various members of whose family are commemorated by several monuments and brasses in the chapel at the east end of the aisle. The Thomas and the Freeman families also have various memorials in the same chapel. The north and south windows of the chancel are of the Perpendicular period.

The nave has a fine open roof, and the north aisle doubtless once possessed another of the same period, although now merely roofed by a lean-to to the nave. The arcade between aisle and nave is of four bays of pointed arches and sub-arches over octagonal piers. Between the eastern arch and the north pier of the chancel arch is a blocked, pointed opening, once the doorway of the rood-loft stair, one of its hinge-staples still remaining. Above the west jamb of this doorway projects a corbel, whereon the rood-loft beam was supported. In this case, instead of being immediately under the chancel arch, it must have been about five feet to the west of it. The south wall of the nave has three Perpendicular windows, the middle one having four, the eastern three, and the western two lights. In the wall outside are the remains of a round-headed window between the middle and the western windows of the nave. Still further westward is the porch, having a waggon-roof, and an inner doorway with engaged shafts and a series of mouldings—a very good specimen of Early English work. The weather-moulding on the wall above this porch shows that originally its roof was higher and of more acute pitch. The north aisle is lighted by three Perpendicular windows under square hoods. As before said, it once had a roof separate from, though probably similar to, that of the nave, the corbels which supported its tie-beams still remain; while outside, in the east wall of the tower, are the traces of its acutely-pitched gable. The north door of this aisle is blocked up. At its west end the doorway leading into the tower is of plain Early English character, and acutely pointed. Its arch has been lowered at some subsequent period, and it is much plastered over. There is also a modern doorway in the south wall of the tower, and opposite to it is an Early English window. No less than six buttresses support this tower, which is square in plan, rising in two stages, and crowned by a shingled spire. The belfry has four windows, apparently of Early English date. Lambert's and Grimm's drawings show windows of Norman character. There are five bells, re-cast in 1732 from the old bells of the seventeenth century. The

font is of the Perpendicular period, square, with panelled sides and angle shafts. The registers date from 1560.

The church possesses a very massive chest, its heavy lid opening in two sections. Near it there lay formerly a stone coffin with a broken lid ornamented with a foliated cross. During some alterations made in 1867 a monolithic chalk coffin with a chalk lid was found in the church. A more curious discovery was made in 1847, when an ancient leaden cist or coffer was unearthed in making the Eastbourne and Willingdon railway. It measures 1 ft. in length, 11 ins. in width, and 6 ins. in depth. At either end are sockets, into which



W. Heneage Legge, del.

Leaden Coffer
found at Willingdon in 1847.

handles were once fitted. On the back and front, within an inverted triangle, is an intertwining pattern, in the lower part of which is a Greek cross. On each side of these patterns is a perpendicular corded band, and four similar ones cross each other in a latticed manner at each end of the coffer. It is evidently of Saxon date. Whether it ever served any ecclesiastical use is purely conjectural, although the cross included in the pattern seems to indicate it, and if it could be connected in any definite way with the church of the parish in which it was found, Willingdon might be linked with the other churches of its Hundred as a church of pre-Conquest foundation.

W. HENEAGE LEGGE.

On some Yorkshire Earthworks.

YORKSHIRE is a county peculiarly rich in earthworks, but this article will only attempt to deal with one special class of them, and the only reason for connecting the subject with Yorkshire will be that the examples will be chosen from that county, though the inquiry on which the article is based has extended to the whole country. For the earthworks in question are found all over England, and in parts of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, as well as in many regions of the Continent, especially in Normandy. The type is a very marked one; it consists of a round or oval hill, frequently artificial, though a natural hill or rock is sometimes utilized, and scarped by art. This hillock is nearly always surrounded by a ditch and bank, and has attached to it a base-court, sometimes round or oval, but more frequently rectangular, which is also banked and ditched. These earthworks have sometimes been called British, though the fact that they have citadels puts them out of the category of British or pre-historic forts. They have occasionally been attributed to the Romans, though there is no evidence whatever that the Romans ever reared such hillocks. They have also been set down to the Scandinavian invaders of England, though they are found in parts of the country where the Northerner never settled, and are not found in Norway or Sweden. They have been pronounced sepulchral, though the well-defended courts which are attached to them are not the adjuncts of any known class of grave-mounds in England. They have been called moot-hills, though this again ignores their evidently defensive character. But the theory which is most generally received at present, and which attained its present popularity through the writings of the late Mr. G. T. Clark, is that they were reared by the Saxons themselves when they were resisting the invasions of the Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries. Mr. Clark even went so far as to say that the word *burh*, which is the ancestor of our word *borough*, was the Anglo-Saxon name for a moated hillock of this kind. Now to assign an entirely new meaning to a well-known word, in a language which you do not understand, is certainly a bold proceeding. But

Mr. Clark was an expert in the architecture of castles, and therefore his conjectures about earthworks, and even about etymology, were accepted as facts, even by some of the leading archæologists and historians of his day, and have been in circulation ever since as coin of the realm of truth. Freeman and Green wrote about the mighty mounds thrown up by the Lady Ethelfleda at Tamworth and elsewhere, just as if the erection of these mounds by the lady were a proved fact; and almost every modern writer on English castles tells us that the mound on which the keep stands is the work of a former Anglo-Saxon proprietor. And I am not aware that any scholar of reputation has protested against this view, with the notable exception of Mr. J. H. Round.¹ Yet there is not a particle of solid evidence for the theory. It can be shown that the *burhs* or boroughs built so largely by Edward the Elder and his sister Ethelfleda were fortified towns. There is no evidence that the Anglo-Saxons ever built castles at all; the contemporary historians of the Norman conquest tell us expressly that they did not; and though the word *castellum* occurs sometimes in charters of the Anglo-Saxon period, the context always shows that it means a town. In fact there is no mention of castles in Anglo-Saxon history till we come to the reign of Edward the Confessor, when the castles built by his Norman favourites are spoken of in a tone which shows they were hateful novelties.²

But if the influential writers alluded to had only looked more carefully at the earthworks in question, they would have seen that it was a reproach to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers to attribute such works to them. The first point to notice is their small area; the average size of one of these fortresses is about three acres. In this they contrast strongly, not only with the tribal camps of the prehistoric and British people, but with the known Saxon *burhs* at Eddisbury, Witham, and Maldon, which cover from twenty to twenty-four acres. When Ethelred, ealdorman of Mercia, built the *burh* at Worcester in the reign of King Alfred, he declared in the charter which is still preserved that he did it "for the protection of all the folk" as well as of the churches and the bishop.³ But the moated hillocks are evidently intended to be held by a very small force. When they belong to towns, they are never placed in the middle of a town, but either on the line of the town walls, or, as at Winchester, Rochester, and many other important cities, outside the walls.

¹ See Mr. Round's article on "English Castles" in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1894, where he suggests the Norman origin of these earthworks.

² I have gone very fully into this argument in a paper read last year (1900) before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and therefore do not repeat it here.

³ Birch's *Cartularium*, II., 222.

Evidently they were built by men who were suspicious of their neighbours, and very anxious about their personal defence. In a word, as the eminent Danish archæologist, Dr. Sophus Müller, was first to notice, they are feudal fortifications, and their rise in England corresponds with the introduction of that more rigid feudalism which the most recent research is leading us to associate with the Norman conquest.

But to these inferential arguments for their Norman origin positive evidence can be added. Normandy abounds with these earthworks; the date of some of them is known, and many of them play a part in the wars of William the Bastard with his rebellious barons. The



THE MOTTE OF DINANT.

Fig. 1.—Fortified Mound from the Bayeux Tapestry.

Bayeux tapestry not only gives us pictures of fortified mounds at Rennes, Dinant (fig. 1), and Bayeux, but shows us the Norman soldiers engaged in throwing up a similar mound at Hastings (fig. 2), while the inscription above says, "He commands that they dig a castle." The Norman name for this kind of mound was a *motte*, the only name which it has, as far as I am aware, in any language. This word *motte*, in its Latin form *mota*, was frequently used in England in mediæval documents to signify a castle; it is the origin of our word *moat*, which had formerly the same comprehensiveness of meaning as the word dyke. A document of Elizabeth's reign says that the Dungeon of Alnwick "ys sett on a lytle moate made with men's

hands."¹ And the same word is still to be found in many parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, where the Normans are known to have settled. The motte was protected round the top by a breastwork or a stockade, and crowned with a wooden tower, which was the residence of the lord, and the final resort when the garrison were hard pressed, besides serving the purpose of a watch-tower over the adjoining town or village. This tower was called in Norman French a *Bretarche*; it was also called a *Donjon*, from the Low Latin *Domnium*, used of a lord's house. The Dane John at Canterbury still preserves the memory of the Dungeon Hill of William the Conqueror's first castle at Canterbury. Leland, who seems to have



Fig. 2.—Building a fortified mound, from the Bayeux Tapestry.

been aware of the original use of these mottes, always speaks of them as "dungeon hills." Our word *dungeon*, of course, is one that has gone down in the world. When the stone keeps which succeeded the wooden towers were in their turn abandoned by their owners for more luxurious abodes, the disused vaults were turned into prisons, and the name of dungeon became confined to the prison.

The evidence of Domesday Book supports the view that these earthworks were reared by the Normans. The Survey mentions forty-nine castles as held by the followers of the Conqueror, and in the majority of instances it either expressly or implicitly states that

¹ A description of Alnwick Castle, 1567, cited by Grose, Vol. III.

they were new; for example, in a great many towns it mentions the number of houses which were destroyed to make room for the castle. There are, at least, twelve other castles which we know from trustworthy authorities to have been built before the close of the eleventh century, and except the Tower of London, Colchester, Carlisle,¹ and Richmond, which appear to have been planned for stone keeps from the first, all these castles have or had mottes. In fact, nearly all the castles which are traditionally known as the strongholds of the Norman baronage still have their early mottes incorporated with the splendid buildings of later ages.²

In Yorkshire, Domesday only mentions three castles, the two in York, and the castle of Ilbert de Lacy, which had not then received its Norman name of Pontefract.³ All these castles have mottes. The position of the two castles in York shows that they were placed, the one to watch the town north of the Ouse, the other to watch the town on the south bank. The motte which now sustains Clifford's tower, a stone keep of the thirteenth century, was placed on the line of the ancient city walls, the bailey court being actually outside, on the tongue of land between the Ouse and the river Foss, a position indicating the mistrustfulness of the Norman builder. There is no authority for the existence of any previous castle in York, except a statement by William of Malmesbury that the Danes built a castle there which was destroyed by King Athelstan. But William of Malmesbury wrote, nearly two hundred years after the event; nor is it certain that by the word "castrum," which he uses, he meant a castle; he may have meant the city walls. The statement of Domesday that one of the six shires or wards into which the town was divided, was devastated for the site of the castle, is a clear proof that no castle was to be found in York when the Conqueror came there. The second castle, which bears the Norman name of the Bayle Hill, was built, according to Ordericus, on William's second visit to York in 1069, and is said to have been built in eight days. Of course no stone castle could have been built in so short a time; but one great reason why these castles of earth and wood were so favoured by the Normans, was the facility and cheapness with which they could be built. The

¹ Mr. McNeill has shown that the keep of Carlisle was not built by William Rufus, but by David I. See *Scottish Review*, 1899.

² I drew up two tables for the paper mentioned above, which were published in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for 1900; the first, a list of the *burhs* of Edward and Ethelfleda, showing that we never find a *motte* on these sites unless a Norman Castle builder has been at work there subsequently; the second, a list of the castles known to have been built by William I. or William II., showing that with the few exceptions mentioned, they all have mottes.

³ The castle of Roger of Poitou, probably Clitheroe, is also mentioned in what was then reckoned with Yorkshire, but is now Lancashire.

Bayle Hill continued in use as a castle until the fourteenth century, when we hear of Archbishop Melton repairing its wooden walls, and afterwards strengthening them with stone. Its ditches and area were "plainly manifest" in Leland's time.

Ilbert de Lacy's mound at Pontefract developed into one of the most famous of mediæval castles. But though these three castles are the only ones mentioned in the great Survey, it may be regarded as certain that many others were reared in Yorkshire both at the epoch of the Conquest and even in the twelfth century. Ordericus tells us that after William's first visit to the north he scattered castles all over the country. We can still count about fifty mottes in Yorkshire, and there may have been many more, for where a modern house occupies the site of an ancient castle, the motte is generally destroyed. Many of these mottes are still identified with the great Norman families which came over with the Conqueror. Topcliffe was a seat of the Percies, Castleton of the Bruces. Skipsea is always associated with Drogo de Bevrère. Mr. Clark had a theory that the places where mottes are found were always the centres of great estates in Saxon times. But this view, which is controverted by Mr. J. H. Round,¹ is amply contradicted by the Domesday Survey of Yorkshire. Out of some fifty mottes, only twelve stand in places which were the centre of a large soke in the reign of King Edward. Evidently the Norman baron placed his castle where it suited him best, regardless of former arrangements; and probably the wooden hall of his Saxon predecessor did not seem sufficiently defensible for him to make it his residence, for we find no connection between the Saxon *aulæ* or halls mentioned in Domesday Book and these mottes. Domesday often tells us of as many as five or six *aulæ* in one place, where there is no motte whatever.

The relation between these earthworks and later Norman castles is of the closest possible kind. Take the plan of the Castle Hill, at Laughton, which would do almost equally well for Barwick-in-Elmete, or Mexborough, or for dozens of earthworks all over the kingdom. It will also do roughly for the ground-plan of Norwich Castle, or Tickhill. Give the banks of the bailey court eight good pats, so as to make it octagonal, and you have the ground-plan of Oxford Castle as it used to be. Draw it out into corners so as to make a rectangular bailey, and you have the ground-plan of Lincoln or Warwick. It is generally said that the baileys which accompany the mottes we are now discussing were always circular or oval, and Mr. Clark was apt to suspect a Roman camp whenever he found a square

¹ See *Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions*, VII., Part II.

or oblong courtyard. But an inquiry into the castles of the Conquest shows that some rectangular form is by far the most common in early Norman castles with mottes.¹ The later Norman castles, which were formed out of the early ones, had only to add walls and towers of stone to the old earthworks. A shell keep was placed on the top of the motte, instead of the wooden Bretarche; but if the more solid tower keep of stone were desired, it is not so often placed on the

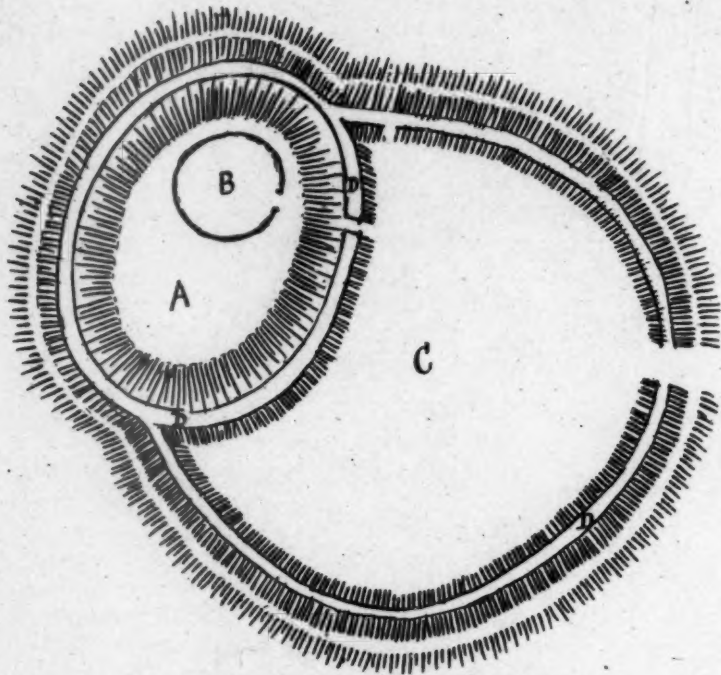


Fig. 3.—Motte and Bailey at William Hill, Middleham.

artificial motte. But not a single keep of early Norman masonry is now to be found on the motte, a fact which supports the inference that the first Norman castles in England were nearly all of wood. Sometimes we find the mediæval builder abandoning the early site altogether, that he may have room for a far more splendid castle; and this, I think, is the reason why, at a short distance from the twelfth century castle of Middleham, we find a motte and bailey of

¹ See the table alluded to above, in *Transactions of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries* for 1900.

the early Norman type, which doubtless represents the first Norman castle of that place (fig. 3). Many similar instances might be cited.

Time will only allow me to allude to a few of our Yorkshire mottes whose circumstances or history are of special interest. Castle Levington (fig. 4), in the North Riding, was in an almost untouched condition at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and a sketch which is preserved in Graves' *History of Cleveland* (1808), gives a very good idea of what these mottes looked like when they had not silted down to the state in which so many of them are now, and when the original earthen breastwork still remained round the summit. This breastwork would doubtless be surmounted by a stockade enclosing the tower, as we see in the Bayeux picture of Dinant (fig. 1). It may be



Fig. 4.—The Castle Hill, Castle Levington, in 1808.

doubted whether the causeway across the ditch is original, because it was more usual to connect the motte with the bailey-court by a wooden bridge, which could be broken down if an enemy gained the court. The fact that Castle Levington is only called "the other Levington" in Domesday, suggests that this motte had not been constructed at the date of the Survey.

Montferrand is a motte which still exists in a very decayed condition in the manor of Birdsall. It was the castle of William Fossard, and the chronicle of Meaux Abbey tells us that Fossard having committed a crime against his foster-father, the Earl of Albemarle, the earl obtained Stephen's permission to pull his castle to pieces. It was a wooden castle, and the timber was given to the Abbey of Meaux

and served for the construction of some of the monastic buildings. Here we have an attested instance of a Norman wooden castle standing on a motte which still exists, and is still called by its Norman name.

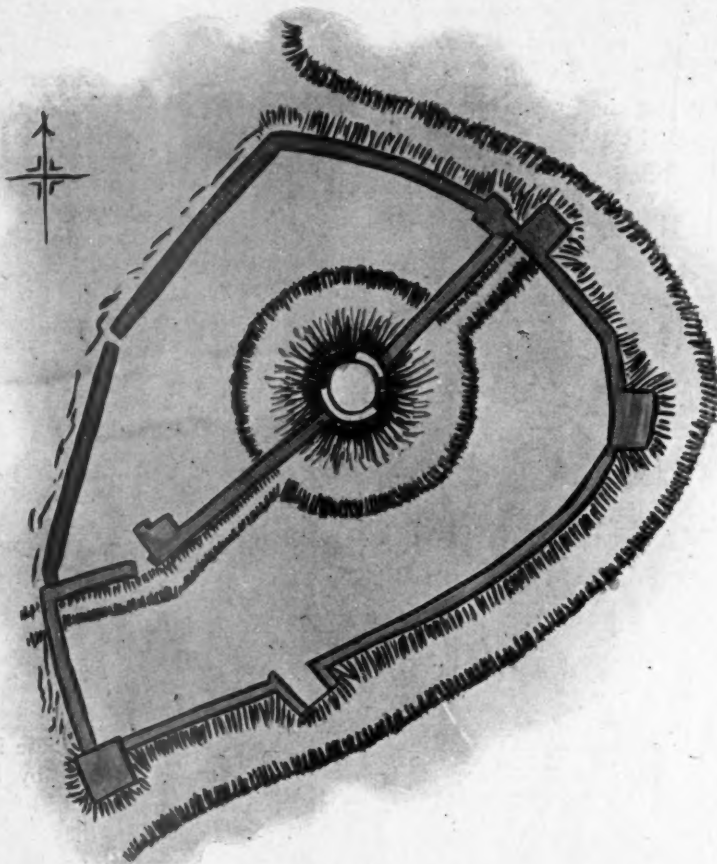


Fig. 5.—Plan of Pickering Castle.

Pickering (fig. 5) is one of the many instances which show how an earthen castle of Norman times was transformed into a mediæval stronghold. The artificial motte, bearing a stone keep which is not earlier than the thirteenth century, now

stands in the middle of the castle bailey; but this arrangement is not usual in castles of the motte and bailey type, and when we find that the motte is on the edge of an inner ward which is banked and ditched, it is suggested that the inner ward is the original one, to which the other was added at a later date. The reign of Henry I. seems to have been the period when it became general to place stone walls upon the older earthen embankments, and perhaps it was at the same time that it became common to carry the curtain wall up the steep slope of the motte, as is done at Pickering. The outer ward, the architecture of which is all of the Decorated period, was probably added in the fourteenth century. This was the way in which castles invariably grew, by adding ward to ward. On the other side of the beck at Pickering, in full view of the castle, but beyond bow-shot, there is another earthwork, the ditches of which are being rapidly obliterated by the plough, but of which enough remains to show that it was a motte precisely similar to those which we are discussing, and there are even portions left of the breastwork which once surrounded the summit. This earthwork has been a great puzzle to antiquaries, but I venture to think that the solution becomes simple when the Norman origin of these mottes is recognized. It was probably a Malvoisin, or "bad neighbour," as the Normans called those works which they threw up against the castles which they were besieging. Their purpose was not so much directly offensive, as to watch the besieged castle and see that no supplies were brought into it. Henry I. is recorded to have erected one of these castles when he was besieging Bridgenorth, and it was no doubt the mound which still remains outside that town. Anyone who has seen that mound, now called Pampudding Hill, and compares it with the one at Pickering, can hardly doubt that the two works are similar in intention. It is quite possible that Pickering, which was a royal castle, may have undergone a siege in some of the revolts of the Yorkshire earls in the reign of Rufus.

Almondbury, near Huddersfield, is an instance of the way in which the Normans defended what we may call a frontier post, for though Lancashire was under the sway of William, it was a very wild district for the most part, and the pass through the hills into Yorkshire by the Roman road from Manchester to York furnished an opportunity for bands of plundering Northmen, or of Scots, at the time when the four northern counties were under Scottish sway. It is only in difficult or frontier country like this that we find Norman castles placed in very high positions; they do not, like more ancient strongholds, seek sites defended by nature, but plant themselves in lower

ground, in the neighbourhood of villages, and especially of churches. Besides the motte, there are two wards at Almondbury, enclosing altogether an area of about eleven acres. This is much larger than the ordinary area of an early Norman castle; but if we can trust a map of the year 1634, the town of Almondbury was formerly placed in the N.E. part of the enclosure, which accounts for its large size.



Fig. 6.—The Castle Hill, Northallerton, in 1794.

Fragments of Norman pottery were found in the motte when the foundations of the Jubilee Tower were being dug in 1897; and at the same time a well, whose existence had never been suspected, was found in the very heart of the motte. Similar wells exist in the motte at Oxford, and in the motte at Cæsar's Camp, near Folkestone, excavated by General Pitt-Rivers, and found to be Norman. Very

likely they were as much an essential feature of every Norman motte as they were afterwards of every stone keep. There is no tradition of a castle at Almondbury earlier than the reign of Stephen, but though stone keeps had then, in many cases, replaced the earlier mottes with their wooden towers, it is evident that for less important castles, or where haste was required, mottes were still thrown up, as we are expressly told that they were during the Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland.¹

At Northallerton (fig. 6) there are some almost obliterated remains which mark the site of a castle built by the Bishop of Durham in the reign of Henry I. A drawing of it has been preserved, and furnishes an instance of how the Norman military architect treated a Roman camp. The outer bank encloses an area of twenty acres, much larger than any early Norman castle, and has been proved to be a Roman camp by the objects found in it. The Norman placed his motte in one corner of this camp, and surrounded it with a small semi-lunar bailey, which was more defensible than the larger area.² The fact that a small Roman altar was found in the motte when it was removed does not militate against its Norman origin, for the motte would be formed of the surrounding soil, and small objects would get into it unnoticed. Moreover, the place is identified with absolute certainty by the description of Leland, who says that the Bishop of Durham's *palace* stood W. of the church, and two bow-shots W.N.W. of it were the ditches and the dungeon hill where the *castle* of Allerton formerly stood. The castle was demolished at the time when Henry II. took into his own hands the castles of England, and it was no doubt at this time that an immense number of mottes were denuded of their wooden buildings. After this, in the course of centuries, their original purpose was forgotten, though in a very large number of cases the memory of it is preserved in the name which is still given to these earthworks, the Castle Hill. If the fact of their Norman origin is accepted, it will help to furnish an answer to a great historical puzzle, how a handful of Norman adventurers were able to hold down a strong race like the English. It was organization that did it; and these earthen castles were the local pivots which carried the action of the central machinery into the remotest parts of the kingdom, and thus established all over England a feudalism very different to that of the Continent, because the authority of the supreme suzerain over all these fortified posts was not a fiction, but a fact.

E. S. ARMITAGE.

¹ See the Anglo-Norman poem on the Conquest of Ireland, cited in "English Castles," *Quarterly Review*, July, 1894.

² Exactly the same thing was done by William at Pevensey.

Lights of other Days.

WITH the cold flash of the electric light installed within our halls and our drawing-rooms, illuminating every corner, dispelling mystery, and adapted to a score of various uses, it may seem somewhat of a veritable "leap into the dark" to attempt to display the meagre methods by which our forefathers contrived to irradiate the gloom of their domiciles. It is not proposed, in this article, to grope our way so far backward

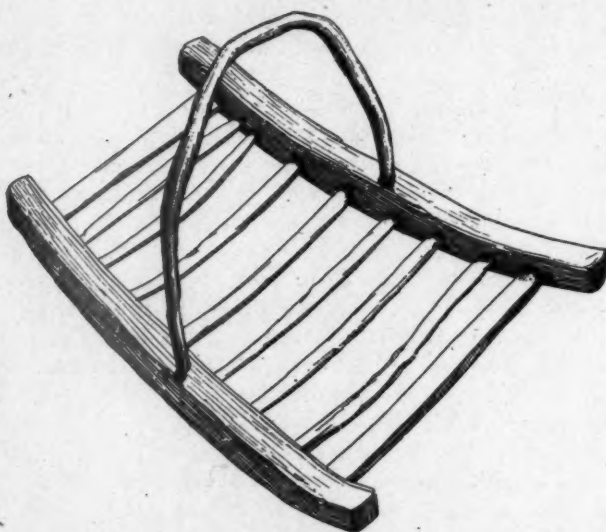


Fig. 1.—Wooden Fir Cradle from Birse, Aberdeenshire. Catal. MG. 278.
Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

as to stumble upon a domestic group in the darkness of a wattled hut, "feeling," as Lamb put it, "each other's cheeks for a smile." A century and a half will suffice to convey the inquisitive antiquary into a region archæologically related to the distaff and whorl, and, in the matter of lights, fully as interesting. Moreover, there may lie instruction, even for us, in studying the ingenious inventions by which darkness was overcome in the days before gas and paraffin lamps.

As a starting-point, then, there is here shown an object which at first glance seems not even most remotely connected with lighting appliances. This was, however, a useful and important implement.

It is a fir cradle (fig. 1); that is, a stout, shallow basket of ashen staves fixed in two parallel and slightly concave bars, and fitted with a handle.

This cradle measured 2 ft. in length by 1 ft. 7 ins. in breadth, and was used to carry the bundle of long thin splinters of resinous fir-wood, which were split from billets, with a knife such as those



Fig. 2.—Fir Gully or Tyaave Knives, from woodside of Mulderie, Keith, Banffshire. Catal. MG. 187. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

shown in fig. 2: plain, thick-backed iron blades, strongly hafted into handles of ash-wood, which were sometimes ornamented in the style of these specimens. The cradle is from Birse, in Aberdeenshire; and the two knives, in the North called *tyaaves*, *gullies*, or *whittles*, from woodside of Mulderie, Keith, in Banffshire. Simple in construction, as all these requisites are, they fit their purpose well; the open work of the fir cradle kept the splinters dry, and the "grip" of the tyaave-handle pleases the hand better than that of any modern clasp-knife. On bringing in the load of splinters, one would be taken and placed in the iron holder at the top of the *peerman*



Fig. 3.—Rude Peerman made of a stick with the bark on set in a block of fir wood, from Glen Rinnes. Height, 3 ft. 6 ins. Catal. MG. 168. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

1000

(fig. 3), to be set a-blazing when required. This *peerman* is the plainest wooden specimen in the National Museum in Scotland. It need not, for that reason, necessarily be the most ancient. A rough but nicely tapering branch has been taken, its notches smoothed, but its bark here and there left, next firmly fixed

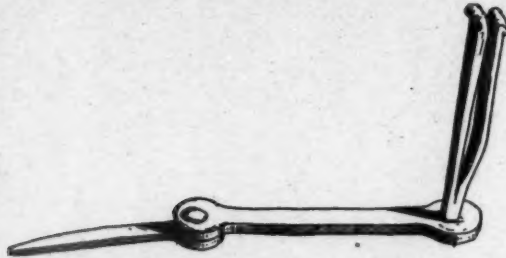


Fig. 4.—Folding Peerman of iron. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

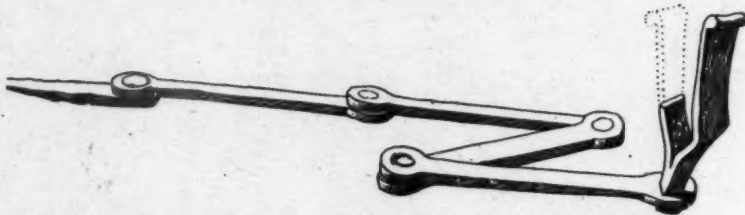


Fig. 5.—Folding Peerman of iron from Nether Auchmore, Glen Rinnes. Catal. MG. 149. Length when extended, 2 ft. 2 ins. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

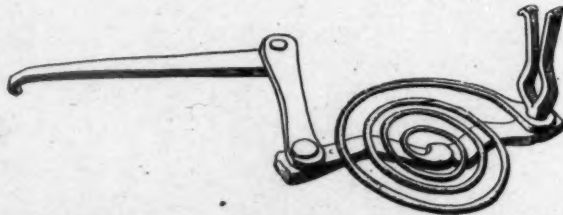


Fig. 6.—Folding Peerman of iron with ornamental Spiral. Catal. MG. 279. Length when extended, 1 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

into a hole about the centre of an oblong block of fir-wood, the thicker end slightly rounded, and on it the iron holder driven in, holding its splinter of resinous fir. Standing just over three feet, this primitive light-giver was easily moved, could be of direct use to grannie stooping low over her knitting, or if exalted

to the table would shed its ruddy glow on the pages of a well-thumbed newspaper that went the round of the "farm-town" ere it was returned to its original lender. This *peerman* is from Glen Rinnes, Banffshire. Our next illustration (fig. 4) shows



Fig. 7.—Iron Peerman and Candle-holder, set in wooden stand from Longside, Aberdeenshire. Catal. MG. 96. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

the simplest form of the iron *peerman*; it consists of two unequally long straps of iron working on a pivot. The shorter piece is sharpened so as to be thrust into a crevice in the wall, and the fir-holder is of the usual form. The original, which is from Smallburn Mortlach, measures 12 ins. in length. A more elaborate specimen, from Nether Auchmore, Glen Rinnes, (fig.

5), is made of five pieces of iron, jointed so that, if pulled out to its extreme length, the splint-light might be over 4 ft. distant from the wall. The holder, rather wider than usual, has had one of its sides cut, which shows that the implement was in latter days adapted to some other purpose.

An implement which did double duty is shown in fig. 6, a very neat and well-fashioned piece of metal-work. It possesses the pointed end and the fir-holder, as before, but with the addition of a flat spiral plate or disc, the navel of which is welded to the centre of the two

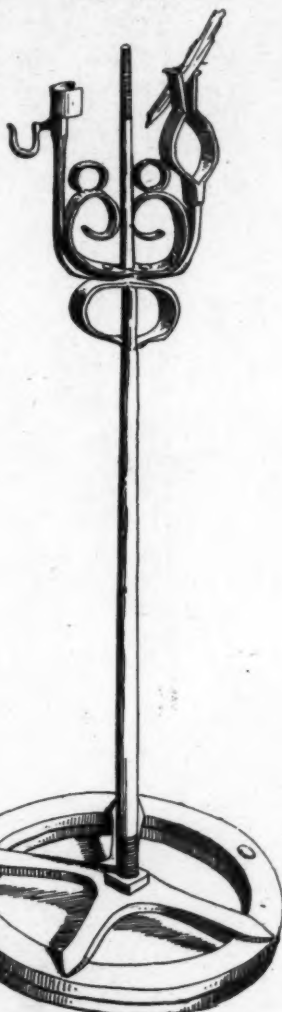


Fig. 8.—Combined Peerman, Candlestick, and Crucie-holder from Hollow Dyke, Grange, Forfarshire. Catal. MG. 160. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

deftly-curved iron straps in the middle. This spiral plate was used for burning fir roots on; the Museum has several specimens of this variety differing in shape and size; but in the specimen here figured the spiral plate measured 6 ins. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in diameter, and the whole *peerman*, when pulled out, 1 ft. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Combined fir-and-candle-holders are also numerous. From Longside, Aberdeenshire, came this specimen (fig. 7); a stem of iron carrying, on the left, a thin band of the same metal, with its edges unjoined for the candle, and attached on the right the fir-holder with its curved tip, and its main part pivoted on to the stem and worked by a spring. The overall height of this light stand is 10 ins.

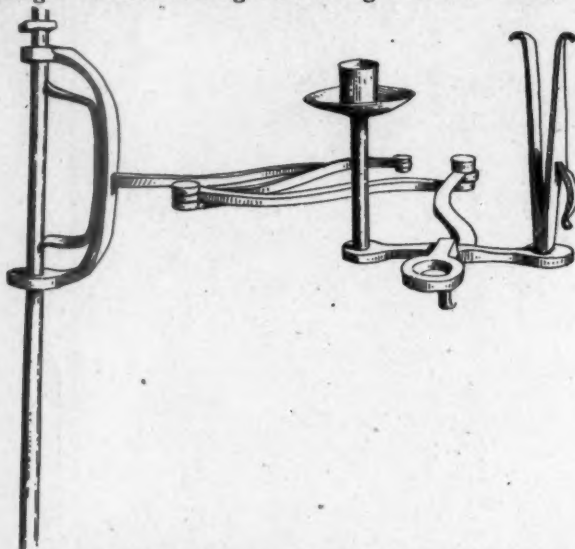


Fig. 9.—Combined folding Peerman Candle-holder, and Crusie-holder of iron, from Bog of Newmill, Keith, Banffshire. Catal. MG. 132.

The really elegant, strong, and excellently-proportioned implement next shown (fig 8) is from Hollow Dyke, Grange, Forfarshire. The base, 8 ins. wide, is heavy and solidly constructed of double plates of iron $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in thickness rivetted together; into their inner edges the four radiating "feet" are wrought; the tall stem is screwed into their centre, and, at its upper extremity, 1 ft. 10 ins. in height, it is furnished with a fine "thread" for a screw, for what purpose we do not know. On the right, is the splint-holder; on the left, a short candle-socket, from the base of which projects a hook, doubtless for suspending a crusie from.

The same ideas are carried out even more elegantly in the specimen (fig. 9) from Bog of Newmill, Keith, Banffshire, unfortunately an imperfect specimen, lacking its base. Pray observe the neat saucer which environs the candle-socket, the projecting ring for the crusie-hook—process reversed in this case—and the finely-curved and well-jointed slim bars of metal, five in number, which can be compressed into quite a small compass or expanded to a length of over 2 ft. 7 ins.



Fig. 10.—Carle, or wooden Candlestick
with rack adjustment and cruciform
base, from Glenkens, Kirkcudbright.
Catal. MG. 102. Height, 1 ft. 9 ins.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.



Fig. 11.—Hanging Candle-holder of iron,
with adjustable sliding rod and spring.
Locality unknown. Catal. MG. 74.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

Of simple candle-holders, also, either on stands of wood, or made wholly of metal, the variety is extensive. I show a remarkable specimen from the Glenkens Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in fig. 10. The rounded smoothness of the corners of its cross-shaped base, and the polished stem, betoken much and constant use. The stem and the rack are bound together near the base with iron, and near the upper end of the stem a movable loop is fixed so as to catch any cog on the rack in order to alter the height of the candle.

This *carle* stands 1 ft. 9 ins. in height. Another example (fig. 12) of a sliding rack candle-holder, but of iron, is from Hillhead of Enzie, Forfarshire; it has a hook for suspension; and there are 9 ins. of space upon which to "play" for alteration of the height. A neat, plain hanging candle-holder (fig. 11) is adjustable by a sliding rod and strong iron spring. Its locality is not known.

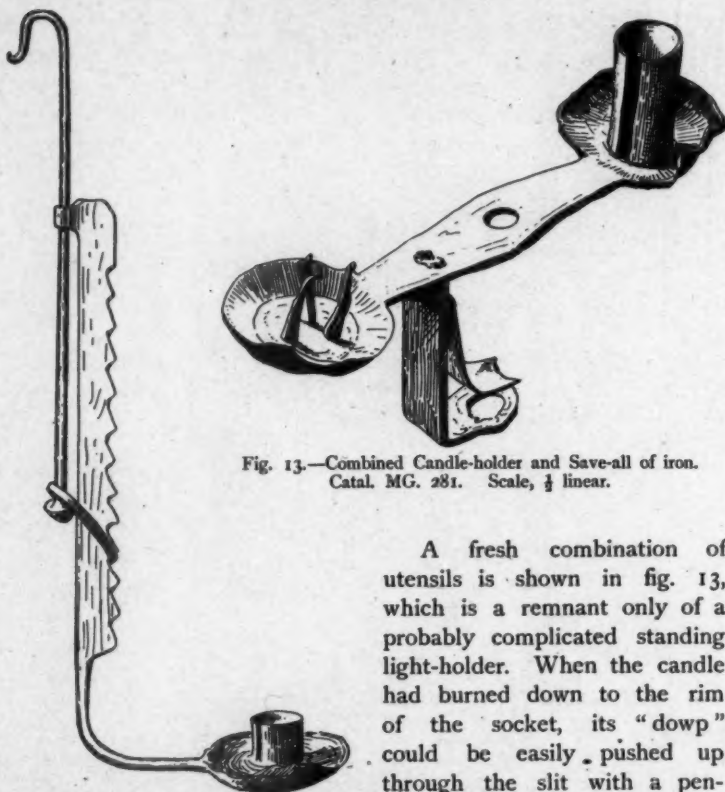
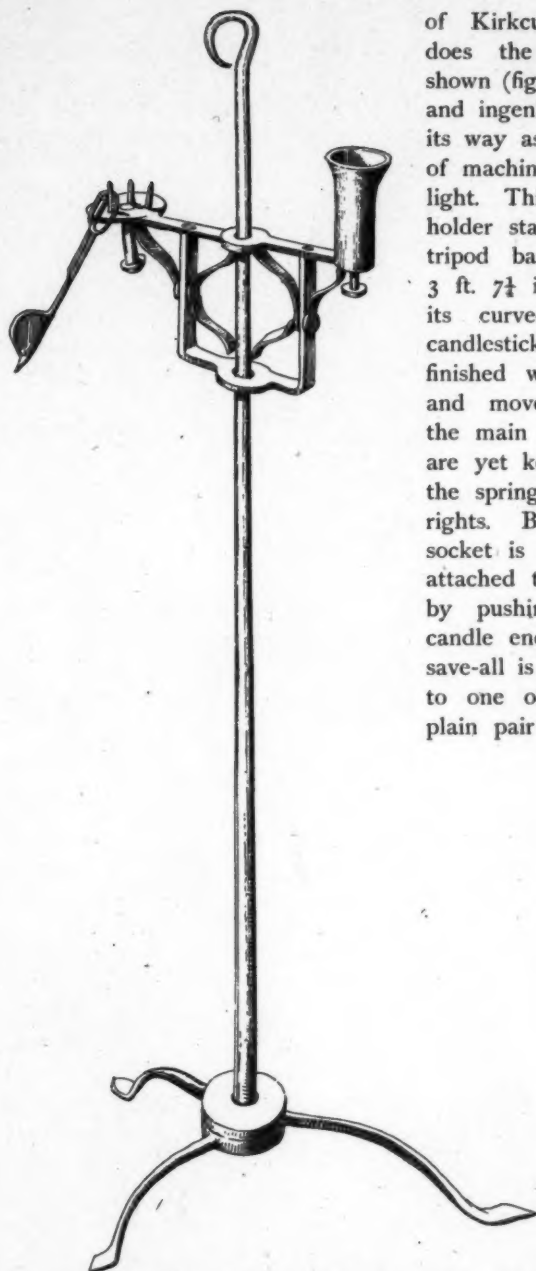


Fig. 13.—Combined Candle-holder and Save-all of iron.
Catal. MG. 281. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

Fig. 12.—Iron Candle-holder with adjustable
sliding rack, from Hillhead of Enzie.
Catal. MG. 129. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

A fresh combination of utensils is shown in fig. 13, which is a remnant only of a probably complicated standing light-holder. When the candle had burned down to the rim of the socket, its "dowp" could be easily pushed up through the slit with a pen-knife, and then economically used up to the very last by being stuck on the three-pointed pricket at the opposite end of the holder. This contrivance was called, very accurately, a *save-all*. In the museum is a neat, and perhaps unique, specimen, made of bronze, and having a prolonged lip by which any residuum of melted tallow could be poured out and put to some other use. This last *save-all* comes from the Stewartry



of Kirkcudbright, as also does the implement here shown (fig. 14), as complete and ingeniously contrived in its way as any recent piece of machinery for producing light. This Galloway light-holder stands on its broad tripod base, and measures 3 ft. 7½ ins. to the top of its curved handle. The candlestick and save-all are finished with unusual care, and move up and down the main stem easily, and are yet kept in position by the springs within the up-rights. Below the candle-socket is a little flat boss attached to a slender rod; by pushing this up the candle end is raised. The save-all is flat, and, attached to one of its points, is a plain pair of snuffers.

F. R. COLES.

Fig. 14.—Height, 3 ft. 7½ ins. Diameter of base, 1 ft. 5 ins.
Catal. MG. 259. Scale, ¼ linear,

Celtic Bells with Ornament.

ECCLIASTICAL bells are of two different kinds, namely (1) *portable* bells, sufficiently light to be carried in the hand; and (2) *fixed* bells, whose weight renders a trussed framework of wood necessary for their support. Each kind of bell can be rung in two separate ways, namely (1) by holding the bell stationary and striking it on the outside with a hammer; or (2) by providing the bell with a tongue, or clapper, suspended from the inside and swinging the bell backwards and forwards, so as to cause the clapper to strike against the interior and thus produce sound. The method of bell-ringing by means of a hammer is frequently illustrated in the illuminated psalters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and is also to be seen on the sculptured capitals in the Abbey of St. George's de Boscherville,¹ in Normandy. The great bells of the Kremlin at Moscow, and in other Greek churches throughout Russia, are rung in this fashion (fig. 1). Portable bells with clappers have a handle at the top, by which they can be swung backwards and forwards in the hand, in the manner depicted upon the Bayeux Tapestry.² Fixed bells with clappers have loops at the top for suspension by iron bands to a horizontal wooden axle or rocking bar working in bearings supported on a trussed framework of timber, usually within a masonry tower. The required rocking motion is given by a lever and rope or a grooved wheel and rope.

The bells used in the Celtic Church seem to have belonged exclusively to the class of portable bells rung by hand. During the earlier period of Christianity in Ireland, when the monks lived together in small isolated communities, bells which were intended to carry sound to a great distance would be unnecessary, so that the absence of belfries in connection with the primitive dry-built stone oratories of the sixth and seventh centuries is easily explained. When, however, at a later period, the congregations became larger

¹ Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, Vol. vi., p. 315.

² F. R. Fowke's *Bayeux Tapestry*, pl. 31.

and more widely scattered, the lofty tower served a useful purpose in greatly increasing the area over which the sound of the bell could be heard.

The commencement of the building of belfries in Ireland coincides with the introduction of Lombardo-Byzantine architecture into

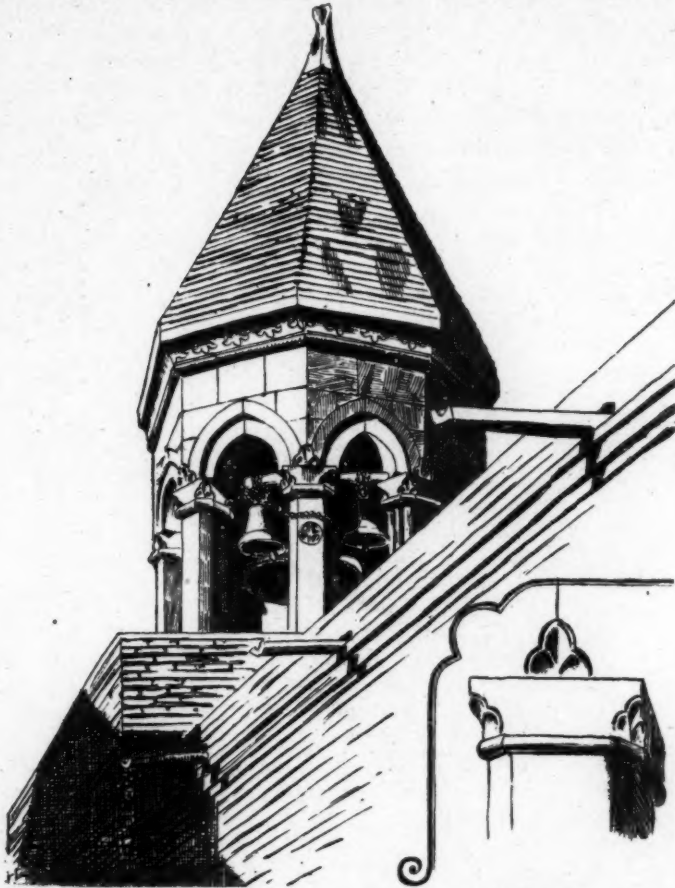


Fig. 1.—Fixed Bells rung by striking with a hammer in Belfry at Tiflis, in Georgia.

that country, and the Irish round tower is obviously nothing more than a local variety of the Italian campanile. The Viking invasions at the same time gave an additional impetus to the erection of structures which could be used not only for ecclesiastical purposes, but also as watch-towers to detect the approach of the enemy, as

bell-towers to alarm the neighbourhood, and as towers of defence to secure the lives and property of the congregation. The fact that the Irish round towers are called by the name of *cloicthech*, or bell-house, in the ancient annals is sufficient proof they were used as belfries, but it does not appear to be known whether the bells were rung by swinging in the hand or fixed to a framework and swung on pivots. At any rate, no Irish bells of this period (A.D. 800 to 1000) have survived except the portable hand-bells. If any mechanical appliance was employed for bell-ringing in the Irish round towers it was probably constructed by fixing an ordinary hand-bell to a horizontal axle-bar of wood or iron, working in two bearings, and swung backwards and forwards by means of a rocking lever with a rope attached to it, as is done in many village churches at the present day. The large, heavy metal bells made specially with a view to being fixed in a tower and rung by a grooved wheel and cord belong to a much later period, after the Norman Conquest, when the art of making castings in bronze of great size had been learnt.

The portable bell of the early Celtic Church is merely an ordinary cattle bell,¹ such as would, no doubt, be common in Pagan times, adapted to ecclesiastical purposes and slightly modified to suit the requirements of the monks. It differs hardly at all, except as regards size, from the common sheep-bell still to be found in many parts of England. Dr. Joseph Anderson tersely sums up the peculiarities of the Celtic ecclesiastical bell, as regards its material, manufacture, form, and size, in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (first series), p. 183, somewhat as follows:—

- (1) *Material*—iron coated with bronze.
- (2) *Manufacture*—hammered and rivetted; coating of bronze put on by means of a process analogous to tinning.
- (3) *Form*—tall, narrow, tapering, four-sided; ends flattened; sides bulged.
- (4) *Size*—portable; provided with handle so as to be easily swung by hand.

The original home of ecclesiastical bells of this type was in Ireland, where there are still the greatest number in existence, and thence they spread to Scotland, Wales, England, Brittany, France, and Switzerland.

The largest iron bell of this kind is preserved in the Church of Birnie, near Elgin, N.B. It is 1 ft. 2 ins. high, and 7 ins. by 5 ins. at the bottom, tapering to 4½ ins. by 3 ins. at the top. It is rivetted down each of the narrow sides with four rivets, and the handle is fixed to the top by four much smaller rivets. As a rule, however, the height of such bells rarely exceeds 1 ft. or is less than 8 ins.

¹ Probably the earliest representation of a cow-bell in Great Britain is on the pre-Norman cross at Fowlis Wester, near Crieff, Perthshire.

The Celtic ecclesiastical bell of wrought iron was afterwards copied in cast bronze. It is reasonable to suppose that the bronze bells are of later date than those of iron (1) because the rectangular shape is useless and meaningless in the case of a bronze bell, and results from copying an iron bell, in which the rectangular shape is necessitated by its method of construction; (2) because the bronze bells are of more refined shape and better manufacture than those of iron; and (3) because the bronze bells are in many cases ornamented.

Celtic ecclesiastical bells of cast bronze may be divided into the following classes:—

- (1) Bronze bells without ornament.
- (2) Bronze bells without ornament, but inscribed.
- (3) Bronze bells with ornamented handles.
- (4) Bronze bells with ornamented bodies.

Examples of Celtic quadrangular bells of cast bronze without ornament have been recorded at the following places:—

Wales.

Llanrhyddlad, Anglesey (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th ser., Vol. ii., p. 275).

Llangystenyn, Carnarvonshire; now in the Powysland Museum at Welshpool (*Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. xxv., p. 327).

Scotland.

Eilean Finan, Loch Shiel, Argyllshire (Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st ser., p. 198).

Inch, near Kingussie, Invernesshire (*Ibid.*, p. 195).

Little Dunkeld, Perthshire (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. xxiii., p. 119).

Forteviot, Perthshire (*Ibid.*, Vol. xxvi., p. 434).

Ireland.

Garton, Co. Donegal (Rev. H. T. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon—Supplement*, p. 342).

Lower Badony, Co. Tyrone (*Ibid.*, p. 344).

Scattery Island, Co. Clare; now in the British Museum (*Ibid.*, p. 344).

Kilbroney, Rostrevor, Co. Down (R. Welch, photo. No. 1932).

Kilmainham (*Jour. R. Soc. Ant. of Ireland*, 5th ser., Vol. x., p. 41).

France.

Goulien, Finistère (*Ibid.*, 5th ser., Vol. viii., p. 167).

As has already been pointed out, the bells of cast bronze are copies in another material of the wrought-iron bells, the quadrangular form which had its origin in the method of construction out of a thin sheet of metal with rivetted joints being still adhered to in the bronze bell, where joints were not required. The only difference in the shape of the iron and the bronze bells is that the latter have in most cases a flange, or an expansion and thickening of the metal round the mouth. The handles vary from those which are almost rectangular to those which are quite round. The bell still preserved in the church at Insch, near Kingussie, Invernesshire, may be taken as a fair sample of the Celtic quadrangular bell of cast bronze

without ornament. It is 10 ins. high, and measures 9 ins. by 7½ ins. at the mouth. The handle is oval and the mouth expanded. The remaining bells of the same class vary from 4 ins. to 11 ins. in height, with their other dimensions in proportion.



Fig. 2.—Bell of Clogher in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin.

(From a photograph by W. G. Moore, Dublin.)

There are three Celtic quadrangular bells of cast bronze without ornament, but inscribed, at the following places:—

Ireland.

Clogher, Co. Tyrone (H. T. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon—Supplement*, p. 369).

Armagh, now in the Museum of the R.I.A. at Dublin (M. Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 65).

Brittany.

Stival (*Mémoires de l'Institut Impériale de France; Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. xxiv., pt. ii., p. 387).

The bell of Clogher (fig. 2) is inscribed, in one horizontal line, with Roman capital letters—

PATRICI

The bell of Armagh is inscribed, in three horizontal lines, with Hiberno-Saxon minuscules—

✠ oroit ar chu
mascach m̄
ailello

“✠ A prayer for Cumascach, son of Ailell.”

The bell of Stival is inscribed, in one vertical line, with Carolingian minuscules—

pirtur ficiſti

“Pirtur made this” (?)

or, according to the Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué:

pir turfic is ti

“Sweet-sounding art thou.”

The Cumascach mentioned on the bell of Armagh was probably the steward of Armagh, who, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, died in A.D. 904, thus fixing the date of at least one of the bells of this class.

Celtic quadrangular bells of cast bronze with ornamented handles exist at the following places:—

Wales.

Llangwynodl, Carnarvonshire; now in the possession of W. C. Yale-Jones-Parry, Esq., of Madryn Castle, Pwllheli, Carnarvonshire (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1st ser., Vol. iv., p. 167; and 4th ser., Vol. ii., p. 274).

Scotland.

Strathfillan (Bell of St. Fillan), Perthshire; now in the National Museum at Edinburgh. (Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st ser., p. 186).

Ireland.

Lorrlha (Bell of St. Ruadhan), Co. Tipperary; now in the British Museum. (H. T. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon—Supplement*, p. 344).

France.

St. Pol de Leon (Bell of St. Meriadec). (Rohault de Henry's *La Messe*, Vol. vi., pl. CDXVIII; Ellacombe, p. 383).

The ornament on the handles is of two kinds—zoöomorphic and phyllomorphic.

The former consists of the head of a beast at each end of the loop handle where it joins the body of the bell, and the latter of a leaf in the same position. The bell of Llangwynodl¹ (figs. 3 and 4), is a good typical example of a zoöomorphic handle, and the bell of St. Pol de Leon is the only one with leaf terminations to the handle. The Llan-



Fig. 3.—Bell of Llangwynodl.

(From a photograph by W. Morgan Evans, Pwllheli.)

gwynodl bell is 5 ins. high, and measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 4 ins. across the mouth; and the St. Pol de Leon bell is $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, and measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across the mouth. St. Fillan's bell is 1 ft. high, and St. Ruadhan's bell only 2 ins. or 3 ins. high.

Celtic quadrangular bells of cast bronze with ornamented bodies exist at the following places:—

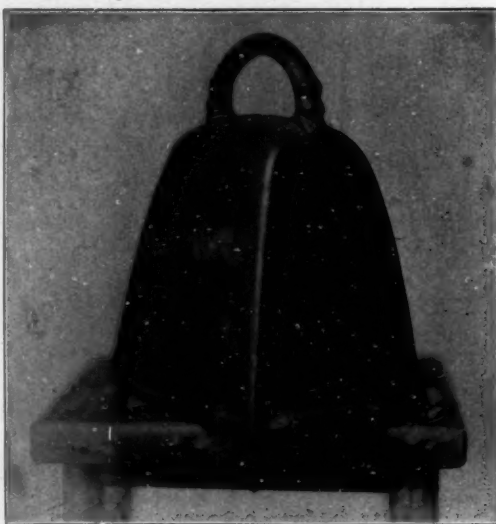


Fig. 4.—Bell of Llangwynodl.

(From a photograph by W. Morgan Evans, Pwllheli.)

¹ We are indebted to Mr. W. Corbet Yale-Jones-Parry, of Madryn Castle, Pwllheli, the present owner of the Bell, for permission to reproduce the two photographs (figs. 3 and 4).

Ireland.

Lough Lene Castle, Co. Westmeath; now in the Museum of the R.I.A. at Dublin, Bangor, Co. Down (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. i., p. 179; Ellacombe, p. 340); Cashel, now at Adare Manor (Lady Dunraven's *Memorials of Adare Manor*, p. 152; Ellacombe, p. 340).

By the courtesy of Mr. George Coffey, M.R.I.A., of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, we are able to illustrate the bell from

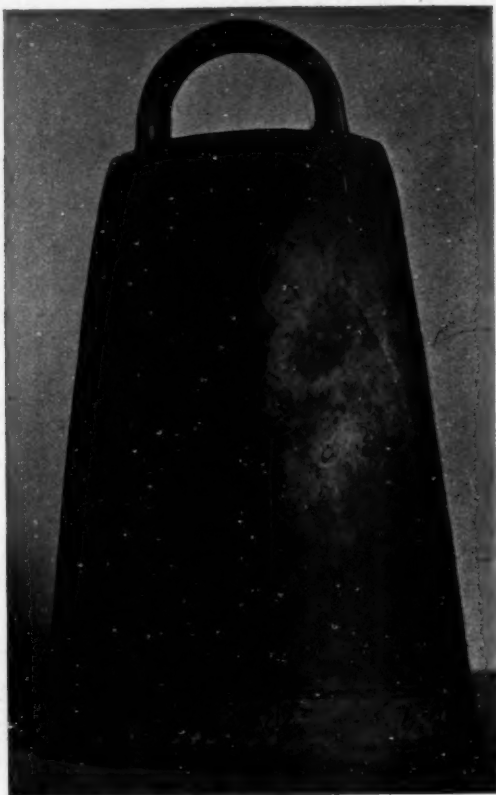


Fig. 5.—Celtic Quadrangular Bell of Bronze from Lough Lene Castle, Co. Westmeath, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin (Front). Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

Lough Lene Castle (figs. 5 and 6). It is 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, including the handle, and measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across the mouth. The shape of the body of the bell resembles that of the iron quadrangular bells, but exhibits

much greater refinement in the delicate and almost imperceptible curves of the sides. The handle is semi-circular. The cross of the well-known Irish type, with a border of key pattern below, round the mouth of the bell, on one of the broader faces; and a border of annular interlaced work in a similar position on each of the narrower faces.



Fig. 6.—Celtic Quadrangular Bell of Bronze from Lough Lene Castle (Side).
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

The bell of Bangor was found at the place of that name, in co. Louth, and was subsequently in the possession of Dr. Stephenson, of Belfast. It now belongs to Col. McCance, of Knocknagoney House, Holywood, co. Down¹. It is 1 ft. 2½ ins. high, and measures

¹ Mr. R. Welch, of Belfast, tells me that it is kept in a fire-proof safe, and that over £300 was refused for it.

9 ins. by 8 ins. across the mouth. This bell is also ornamented with a cross and key patterns, like the one just described, the only difference being that the cross is not combined with a circular ring, and the design of the key pattern is not quite the same.

The bell of Cashel was found at the place of that name, in co. Tipperary, in 1849, and is now preserved at Lord Dunraven's house at Adare Manor, co. Limerick. It resembles the bell of Bangor almost exactly, except that there are four round dots in the hollows between the arms of the cross. The handle is broken off, and without this the bell is 1 ft. high. Its dimensions across the mouth are $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

These three bells are so nearly alike as regards their size, shape, and ornamentation that they are probably all of the same date, and may even have been the work of one artificer in metal. A peculiarity occurs in the key patterns on the bells from Lough Lene Castle and from Bangor which may perhaps help to fix the date. It will be noticed that the square spaces in the middle of the key patterns are filled in with an almond-shaped figure. This is also a feature of the key patterns in the Irish Gospels (Codex No. 51) at St. Gall, in Switzerland.¹

There is in the British Museum a Celtic quadrangular bell of iron, with an ornamented bronze cap fixed to the top of it, but it is not clear whether the cap forms part of the original design or was added subsequently. This bell is called the Bell of Conall Gael, and came from Inishkeel, in the Barony of Boyle, co. Donegal. It was enclosed within a metal shrine in the fifteenth century.

All the other Celtic ecclesiastical bells which have been enshrined are entirely of iron, a fact tending to show that the bronze bells are of later date than the iron ones, because the enshrined bells were those belonging as a general rule to the saint who founded the church. The bronze bells probably came into use long after most of the older churches had been founded.

It may be interesting to give a list of the bell-shrines still in existence :—

Ireland.

Shrine of the Bell of St. Patrick's Will; now in the Museum of the R.I.A. at Dublin (H. O'Neill's *Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland*, p. 46).

Shrine of the Bell of St. Culan, called the *Barnaán Cuilann*; now in the British Museum (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. xiv., p. 31).

Shrine of the Bell of St. Mogue.

¹ R. Purton Cooper's Appendix A to Rymer's *Federa*, p. 90 and pl. 7 (St. Mark miniature), and pl. 10 (initial page of St. John's Gospel).

Shrine of the Bell of St. Mura, from the Abbey of Fahan, Co. Donegal (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. i., p. 274).

Shrine of the Bell of Conall Gael, from Inishkeel, Co. Donegal; now in the British Museum (H. T. Ellacombe's *Church Bells of Devon—Supplement*, p. 365).

Scotland.

Bell-shrine of Kilmichael Glassary, Argyllshire, dug up on Torrebhlaurn Farm in 1814, now in the National Museum at Edinburgh. (Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st ser., p. 207).

Bell-shrine, preserved at Guthrie Castle, Forfarshire (*Ibid.*, p. 209).

The bells of the Celtic Church, whether they be of iron or bronze, whether devoid of lettering or inscribed, ornamented or plain, possess a far higher interest than that attaching to ordinary museum specimens, because most of them have an authentic history, going back in some cases to the time when Christianity was first introduced into this country. The bell, the book, and the crozier which belonged to the Celtic saints who founded churches, were always looked upon with the highest veneration, and were used for a variety of superstitious purposes, such as healing the sick, procuring victory in battle, and the solemnizing of oaths. The relics of the saints of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries were enclosed in costly metal shrines, generally a few hundred years after the death of the saint, and an hereditary keeper was appointed to be responsible for the safety of the relics when borrowed for effecting cures and other purposes. The shrines and their contents were thus handed down from generation to generation, and in most cases sold by their last hereditary keepers to collectors of antiquities, from whom they were acquired by the national museums of England, Scotland and Ireland. The relics still bear the names of the saints to whom they originally belonged; the names of their hereditary keepers are well-known, and they have been obtained from the localities where the saint founded his church, and where the relics remained for centuries afterwards undisturbed. No class of antiquities, therefore, possesses a better record or a more satisfactory pedigree.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN.

The Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay.

THE recent discovery of a pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay, a few miles south of Padstow, on the North Cornwall coast, again indicates the fertility of the district in vestiges of antiquity. Some account of Padstow and its surroundings has been given in a recent article in *The Reliquary*, and we now propose to describe and make a few comments upon the interments lately brought to light at Harlyn.

A cursory examination of the line of coast from Padstow to Constantine Bay indicates the existence, at a remote period, of some considerable settlement, near Constantine or Harlyn; and the quantity of human remains recently unearthed, together with the massive character of the graves, points to the same conclusion. Where was this settlement, and who were the people inhabiting it? Was it engulfed by the encroachment of the Atlantic, or do its foundations still remain beneath the deluges of sand that are known to have swept this coast in previous ages? If they are indeed recoverable, and if the early history of our race is a matter worthy of State aid, one cannot help sympathising with the remarks which some foreign museum officials made to Professor Muller—"Won't the State take it up? Why does not the State buy the field and preserve it?" If the sanctity of a burial ground is to be invaded and human remains ruthlessly deported, it seems eminently desirable that some public authority should take strict cognizance of all that is done. In the case of Harlyn, Mr. Mallett, the owner of the land, appears to have relinquished his intention of building there. "Few people," as Professor Muller remarked, "have the desire of living upon a cemetery, where two or more hundred lie buried, even though it were two thousand years ago."

The stone cists already found at Harlyn are of a very solid character, and are stated to be more numerous than at any other cemetery of this kind in the British Islands. But a vast number may

190 *The Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay.*

yet remain to be unearthed, perhaps here as in other places. A recent interesting discovery at Bleasdale, in Lancashire, affords some points for comparison with these Cornish remains.

At Bleasdale, two large circles, one 150 ft. and another within it 75 ft. in diameter, had been constructed of *timber*, giving a unique character to the Lancashire burial-place. Urns containing calcined bones, and a mass of charcoal, were also found. It is to be noted that mounds as well as cists characterised the Bronze Age, as pointed out by Prof. Boyd-Dawkins in his comment on the Bleasdale remains.



Fig. 1.—Discovery of Prehistoric Cemetery at Harlyn Bay, Padstow.
(From a photograph by Alex. Old, Padstow.)

With regard to Harlyn, the existence of bronze ornaments is important; for the manner in which most of the bodies found here were placed in their cists, together with the absence of weapons, points to two conclusions, as remarked by the Rev. W. Jago at the last annual meeting of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, viz., that the remains belong chiefly to a people living anterior to the Bronze period, and that they were not a warlike race.

The ground in which the remains were deposited was probably a considerable distance further inland at the time of burial, as shown by the character of the cliffs just at this point, which is quite different

The Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay. 191

from the hard and massive rocks nearer Padstow. A stratum of brown earth with a bed of sand, covering the remains, indicates the action of storms.

It does not seem clear that any barrows existed here, though this brown soil may be thought to suggest it. But in connection with this burial ground, it is well to bear in mind that, adjoining the high road from Padstow to St. Columb, and about five miles from this place, no less than three barrows may be seen on the hillside within a space of a mile or two. These barrows are much abraded



Fig. 2.—Excavations at Harlyn Bay, Padstow, showing state of stone cists when uncovered.

(From a photograph by Alex. Old, Padstow.)

by weather, and have probably been rifled of most of their contents long ago. Their position also gives another evidence of the populousness of the district in pre-historic times.

Whatever barrows did exist formerly upon this ground obviously could not have covered the whole area occupied by lines of graves. These lines, which run north and south, are about 3 ft. apart and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the surface, with the heads placed contiguously. Beneath them were other rows of graves. It is plain that the period during which any barrows were constructed here must

192 *The Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay.*

have been subsequent to that in which the lines of graves were laid down. Also, that the ground was used over and over again for a long period.

A cemetery must always be regarded as a natural crematorium, in which the chemical process of oxidation and disintegration is more protracted than in the artificial method of the furnace, whether ancient or modern, for oxidation practically means combustion.

With regard to the massive character of the slabs forming the Harlyn cists, it may be of interest to compare with them the slabs



Fig. 3.—Stone Cist Grave in Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay, Padstow.

(From a photograph by Alex. Old, Padstow, taken August, 1900.)

within the circle at Arbor-Low, in Derbyshire, which are upon the circumference of a small circular mound surrounded by a ditch. I do not think the mound has been fully explored. "Low" would seem to indicate that fires were burned there in former days. Were they crematorial or sacrificial? Possibly both.

From the charcoal found in these ancient burial-places, it appears that fire was used for the purpose of preserving the remains,

The Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay. 193

as well as in ritual observance and for sanitation. Thus, at Bleasdale, two funeral urns containing calcined human remains were found in a rectangular hole, which had been filled with wood ashes. There was also a mass of charcoal. The Bleasdale cemetery deserves to be connoted in detail with that of Harlyn; and I may, perhaps, be allowed to suggest that, with a view to determining questions of race, distribution, date, etc., a collection of international relics disinterred at such burial-places should be arranged and tabulated *topographically*. The exact site and nature of the ground should certainly be given. Museums often lack detail in their descriptions of such specimens, which are sometimes sadly jumbled together.

Although we must wait for the full report which is being prepared by the Rev. W. Jago for the Royal Institution of Cornwall, some interesting relics of the Harlyn cemetery may be here noticed, viz., a spindle, bracelets, beads, brooches and rings. These articles have been submitted for examination to the authorities of the British Museum. Two of the rings are of bronze, and a bracelet was found in the form of a modern bangle.

The children buried here had peculiar graves. Skeletons were found, which had been placed in separate compartments, in the graves of the adults. In other cases it appears that they were laid in a kind of circle, like the coiled up body of a sleeping cat.

We add an extract from a letter of Mr. Reddie Mallett, owner of the site:—

“Harlyn Bay, near Padstow,

March 18th, 1901.

“The discovery was made in August last, while digging for house foundations and water, preparatory to the erection of a private dwelling for my parents and myself. As soon as I realized that an important find had been brought to light I communicated with various societies, and the Rev. W. Jago, acting for the Truro and British Museums and the Society of Antiquaries, prosecuted the further work of exploration.

“After about six weeks’ digging, the work was abandoned for the winter, and then, all relics having been removed—up to that time—I decided to preserve, *in situ*, all that might be subsequently revealed, to which decision I have adhered, with most encouraging results.

“My wooden house now contains a most remarkable collection of unquestionable slate implements—knives, prickers, scrapers, needles, and spears—besides about fifty teeth of animals, animal bones, teeth, shells, flints, etc., from kitchen middens; pieces of pottery, metal, and glass, trinkets, spindle-whorls, etc.

194 *The Pre-historic Cemetery at Harlyn Bay.*

"I found a kitchen midden (as yet but partly explored) long after the antiquaries had abandoned the site, and from various deductions I am convinced that the district proves the existence of a populous settlement in the ancient past.

"The graves lie at a depth of from (about) 10 ft. to 16 ft. below the surface, and their number cannot be estimated; more than one hundred have as yet been revealed, but they represent but a little of the whole.

"I have not sold a relic, save in one instance (to a scientist), and I would only do so to a person who would use such relic scientifically. They cannot be given away, not only because they are rare, but because I have sunk a considerable sum in preserving the site for the cause of science and for the satisfaction of public interest."

REV. S. BARBER.

Romano-British Fibulæ showing Late-Celtic Influence.

TO anyone who is acquainted with the elaborate studies¹ made by Scandinavian archæologists on the origin and development of the various forms of fibulæ found in northern Europe it must be a matter of surprise that up to the present no attempt has been made to do the same thing for our own country. With the exception of Mr. Arthur Evans' paper in the *Archæologia*,² absolutely nothing has been written on the subject in England, nor do the curators of our public museums make the faintest attempt to classify the different kinds of fibulæ of the Romano-British period according to their shapes. In the present note we propose to direct attention to certain fibulæ found in Great Britain, which, although belonging to the period of the Roman occupation, show traces of Late-Celtic influence either in their forms or in their decorative features.

Looked at from a purely mechanical point of view, a fibula, or brooch, belongs to the same class of appliances as an ordinary door-lock; being, in fact, a device for fastening applied to dress. The fibula was probably in its earlier stages evolved from a simple pin by endeavouring to invent some way by which the pin might be prevented from slipping out once it had been inserted in the fabric of the dress. A sufficiently obvious plan for effecting this is to connect the head of the pin with the point by means of a rigid bar sufficiently bent into the shape of an arch to avoid pressing too closely upon the portion of the dress between it and the pin. When fixed in its place the brooch forms a complete ring, so that a locking and unlocking contrivance is necessary in order to enable it to be removed when not in use.

The modern safety pin, which is also one of the most ancient inventions, is perhaps the simplest kind of dress-fastener, and yet it is the parent of the almost endless series of European fibulæ from the

¹ Hans Hildebrand's *Industrial Arts of Scandinavia*; Oscar Montelius' "Spännen från bronsåldern" in the *Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*; and O. Almgren's *Studien über nordens europäische Fibelformen*.

² Vol. lv., p. 179.

Bronze Age to the present time. It can be made in the easiest possible manner out of a single piece of metal wire of uniform thickness by making a coil in the middle of its length to act as a spring and a point at one end and a hook at the other. The pointed end is then bent round until it catches in the hook, and the thing is complete.

There are two other classes of brooches which do not belong to the safety-pin type or its descendants, namely, (1) the Celtic penannular brooch¹; and (2) the Northern Bronze Age brooch,² which has a pin with a hole through the head enabling it to slide, turn, and move about loosely on the body of the brooch. With these we are not concerned at present.

Although the safety-pin type of fibula was in its earlier stages made out of a single piece of wire it may be considered to consist of four different parts, each of which performs a function of its own, namely, (1) the head, containing the spring or hinge; (2) the tail, containing the catch, or locking apparatus; (3) the body or framework, connecting the head with the tail; and (4) the pin, moving on a hinge or spring at one end and with the pointed end fitting into the catch. In all fibulae derived from the safety-pin the pin is straight and the body bent into a more or less arched shape, like a bow. An infinite variety of forms were produced (1) by increasing the number of coils in the spring and their size; (2) by expanding the tail end into a thin triangular plate; and (3) by increasing the thickness of the body or by making a coil in the middle of its length to act as a secondary spring. Much the most important modifications, however, in the safety-pin brooches were those which gradually led up to the harp-shaped and cruciform fibulae of the Romano-British period. Mr. Arthur J. Evans has in his paper in the *Archæologia* (vol. lv., p. 179) on "Two Fibulae of Celtic Fabric from Æsica" traced the evolution of the harp-shaped fibula from the bow-shaped fibula in a most interesting way. The different stages in the process appear to have been as follows:— (1) The tail end of the fibula was extended and bent backwards so as to make an S-shaped curve with the bow; (2) the retroflected end of the tail was fixed to the middle of the convex side of the bow by means of a small collar, made in a separate piece; (3) the whole of the back was formed out of one piece of metal with the collar surviving as a mere ornament; and (4) the triangular opening at the tail, bounded by the retroflected end, part of the bow, and the catch for the point of the pin, was filled in solid with a thin plate. It will be noticed that during this process of evolution the extended and

¹ Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd ser., p. 7.

² J. J. A. Worsaae's *Industrial Arts of Denmark*, p. 92.

retroflected end of the tail has become part of the continuous curve of the convex side of the bow, whilst what was previously one-half of the outside of the bow is now on the inside of the triangular plate at the tail end. This, together with the expansion of the head to suit the increased number of coils in the spring, produced the characteristic harp-shape of the Romano-British fibula, in many of which the knob ornament in the middle of the back is the last survival of the collar for fixing the retroflected end of the tail in its place.

The cruciform and T-shaped fibulæ, which began in Roman times and continued to be used by the Anglo-Saxons, resulted from extending the coils of the spring at the head symmetrically on both sides of the pin. In this class of fibula the two outside ends of the coil were joined by a loop passing through the inside of the bow so as to give extra leverage to the spring, or sometimes serving merely as a loop for suspension by means of a chain.

The specimen shown on fig. 1, which is of silver, was found at the Warren, near Folkestone, and is now in the British Museum. The lower portion is, unfortunately, broken off, but the retroflected end of the tail remains, with the little ornamental knob which is the survival of the practically useful collar for securing it to the back of the bow. The coils of the spring on each side of the pin and the connecting loop are clearly seen, together with the loose ring passing through the coils of the spring and a portion of the chain for suspension.

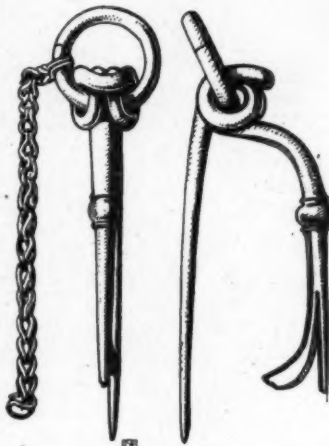


Fig. 1.—Silver Fibula from the Warren, Folkestone.

(Drawn for The Reliquary by C. Praetorius.)

On fig. 2 is shown an exceedingly pretty pair of harp-shaped fibulæ of silver, with a well-wrought chain for suspension. They were found near Chorley, Lancashire, with Roman coins dating from Galba to Hadrian, and are now in the British Museum. At the top of each fibula is a loop for attachment to the chain, and the bodies are beautifully ornamented with Late-Celtic flamboyant patterns. The knob, which is the survival of the collar already referred to, has here assumed a highly ornamental form resembling two floriated capitals of columns placed together.

The specimen represented on fig. 3 is one of a pair of silver-gilt fibulæ, similar to the preceding, but larger and without the chain, although possessing the loops for suspension. They were purchased in Newcastle about the year 1811, and are now in the British Museum. It is stated in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* (vol. 3, Appendix x., p. 440) that the locality from whence they came was somewhere in the county north-east of Backworth. The fibulæ were discovered in a silver patera bearing a dedicatory inscription to the Deæ Matres, and containing in addition—

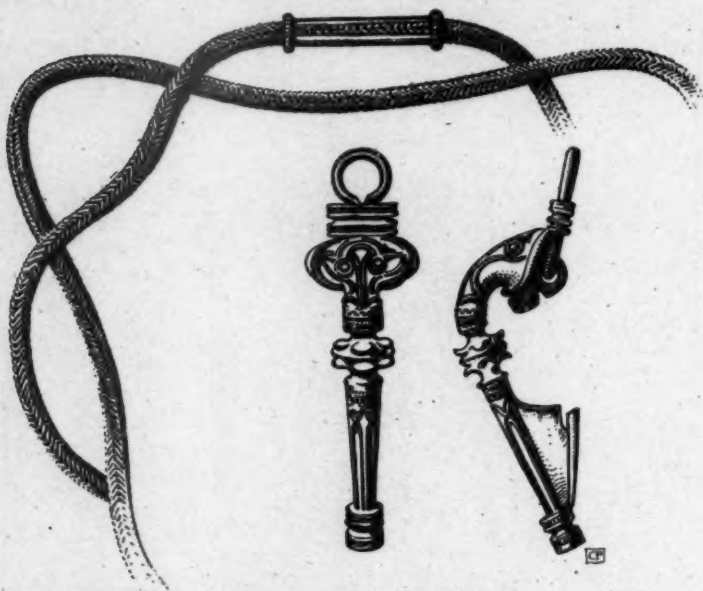


Fig. 2.—Pair of silver Fibulæ and Chain found near Chorley, with Coins from Galba to Hadrian.

(Drawn for *The Reliquary* by C. Prætorius.)

- 5 gold rings.
- 1 silver ring.
- 2 gold chains with wheel pendants.
- 1 gold bracelet.
- 3 silver spoons.
- 1 mirror.
- 280 denarii.
- 2 large brass coins of Antoninus Pius.

A full account of the find is given in E. Hawkins' "Notice of a remarkable collection of ornaments of the Roman period, connected with the worship of the Deæ Matres, and recently purchased for the British Museum" in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 8, p. 35).

The chief object of this article is to call attention to the intensely Celtic character of the fibulæ just described. The wearing of brooches in pairs with a chain attachment was a Celtic and not a Roman custom, as has already been pointed out in a previous volume of *The Reliquary* (for 1895, p. 157). A pair of bronze fibulæ, of the same kind as the one from the Warren, Folkestone, fastened together by a double chain, was found in one of the Gaulish cemeteries in the department of Marne¹ in France, and is now to be seen in the museum of St. Germain, near Paris. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed that all the fibulæ found in this country with chains attached to them or with loops for a chain at the top are more Celtic than Roman.



Fig. 3.—One of a pair of silver-gilt Fibulæ found in Northumberland, with Denarius of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 139).
(Drawn for *The Reliquary* by C. Praetorius.)

Amongst the Late-Celtic antiquities in the British Museum are three specimens which illustrate the evolution of the harp-shaped fibula very well. One ornamented with a coral boss and gold stud, probably from the Marne district, was presented by the late Sir A. W. Franks; another came from a chalk pit near Walmer, Kent; and the third was found at Clogher, Co. Tyrone.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN.

¹ Engraved in the *Dictionnaire Archeologique de la Gaule*. Other examples from the cemeteries of Somme Bionne, Courtois, Bussy-le-Château, and Sommesous in the Department of the Marne, are given in the *Album* accompanying L. Morel's *La Champagne souterraine* (pls. 13, 29, 34, and 40).

Notes on Archæology and Kindred Subjects.

NORBURY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

THIS beautiful little church is one of the few in Derbyshire which has escaped the hands of "churchwarden restorers," although in 1650 the Parliamentary Commissioners coolly suggested the evacuation of it, in preference to one of its chapels. The church as it now stands dates from



Fig. 1.—Norbury Church from the South.

the last quarter of the fourteenth century, for it was then that Henry Kniveton built the present chancel. This chancel is unique in many ways. As will be seen (fig. 1), it has a wavy-lined parapet, which has been imagined to represent the "vaire" on the arms of Fitzherbert of Norbury. The copings to the buttresses should be noticed, as they are of

a pyramidal form; also the double flower of twelve petals at the principal intersection of the window tracery. In the east window of five principal lights will be seen the gradual transition into the Perpendicular style in the two pieces of upright tracery. The rest of the church is in the Perpendicular style. It is from this little village on the banks of the Dove that Bishop Roger de Norbury took his title. The oldest part of the present church is the font, which belongs to the Early English Period (fig. 2). The chancel is arcaded with cinquefoil arches under a sort of hood-mould (fig. 4). On the south side are three sedilia and a piscina (fig. 3), which call for no comment. The oldest monument is one in the floor of the chancel of Early English workmanship, *circa* 1250. In the south chapel is the effigy of a knight in armour. This is Sir Henry Fitzherbert, fifth Lord of Norbury, who came in for the property in 1267. The monument is in good preservation. The splendid monument to Sir Nicholas Fitzherbert is now on the south side of the chancel. The whole figure is of most excellent workmanship, and closely resembles fig. 4. This Knight died in 1473; he was the tenth Lord of Norbury. On the other side of the chancel is another tomb of even finer work. This is in memory of Sir Ralph, of the same family, son of the previous Sir Nicholas. His lady is also represented; she was Elizabeth Marshall, daughter of the Lord of Upton and Sedsall. Both these last monuments are carved in alabaster (fig. 4). There is a large number of other tombs in the church to different members of the wealthy and aristocratic family of Fitzherbert. On the tomb of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert is an example of a palimpsest, or twice-used brass. The brass is supposed to have been a Flemish quadrangular piece. Perhaps no family in English history has been more wantonly and shamefully treated than that of Fitzherbert.

The great glory of the place is its old stained and painted glass. Dr. Cox, in his *Churches of Derbyshire*, states as a fact that there are not six other parish churches in the kingdom which have so fine a display. Much of this beautiful glass was sold, at the close of the eighteenth century, to a Roman Catholic family in Yorkshire. At that time every window in the church was filled with coloured glass



Fig. 2.—Early English Font in Norbury Church.

of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most unhappily the remains were all placed in the great east window, and so caused great confusion. Some of the north window glass may be seen in fig. 4, over the tomb.



Fig. 3.—Sedilia in Norbury Church.

The scaffolding poles seen are those which held up the roof during the



Fig. 4.—Tomb of Sir Ralph Fitzherbert in Norbury Church.

last restoration of 1900. The chancel windows are worth a long journey, so interesting are they. In the tower, which is on the south side, over the porch, are three bells, thus inscribed:—

(i.) "Jhesus be our speed 1589" (Henry Oldfield).

(ii.) "Sonat hec celis dulcissima vox gabrielis," founder supposed to be Richard Mellowe, of Nottingham.

(iii.) "Gloria in excelsis 1739."

The parish registers begin in 1686. In one year no less than three people were buried without service, two of whom were said to be Papists. The Manor of Norbury was given to the family of Fitzherbert in 1125, for a yearly rental of 100s.

G. LE BLANC SMITH.

HEGGESTON MANOR FARM.

A LITTLE distance from Harrow lies the old Manor Farm of Headstone, or, as it was formerly written, Heggeton or Heggston. Some old writers believe it was one of the residences of the Archbishops of Canterbury in days long gone by, and that there is reference made to Heggeton among the estates of Archbishop Arundel in 1398. In the "Domesday Survey" it is stated that the manor of Herges (or Harrow) was held by Archbishop Lanfranc, and "it answered for one hundred hides. There was land for seventy ploughs. Thirty hides belonged to the demesne on which were four ploughs, and a fifth might be added. A Priest had one hide; there was pasture for the cattle of the village and pannage for 2,000 hogs."

Thomas à Beckett is said to have owned Headstone Manor House, and on the occasion, Walford says, in *Greater London*, when he "was travelling towards Woodstock for the professed purpose of paying respect to Prince Henry . . . was denied access to the Court and commanded to repair immediately to his own diocese. It is recorded that he passed some days, on his return, at his manor of Harrow, in the exercise of much dignified hospitality, and during his stay exchanged many acts of kindness with the Abbot of St. Albans. This was only a short time previous to the assassination of Beckett, and the spirit of animosity which prevailed very generally in regard to this high-minded Churchman was evinced in a conspicuous manner by the resident clergy of the place. Nigellus de Packville, and Rector of Harrow, and Robert de Broc, treated him with boisterous disrespect, and are said to have maimed with their own hands one of his horses bearing his provisions . . . for which offence they were both excommunicated." There are, of course, many traditions that Beckett used the Manor House as one of his shooting lodges, and there is no doubt that he did come here from time to time in the heyday of his splendour, when his fortunes were gradually going down hill.

To the thoughtful, there is a great deal of picturesqueness in Heggston Farm. It is reached from Harrow by walking along Headstone Drive, and as one nears the farm, the long grass path, bordered by high hedges, ends at the old moat and a gate leading into the farmyard. Then, on pushing open the gate and stepping into the farmyard, the visitor feels as if he had, with the click of the closing gate behind, shut out the world of to-day, with its noise, bustle, and restlessness. There settles down on him a feeling of great stillness, of great peace, and the atmosphere of long-passed-away days and things seems to seize him, and hold his imagination. On the left, looking towards the old house, are the



Fig. 1.—Heggston Manor Farm, from the Farm-yard.

(From a photograph by E. S. Stephen, Harrow.)

great, stately barn buildings which are the natural adjuncts of a priory or church house. One would imagine oneself hundreds of miles from London as one stands there and wanders on to the little bridge to look down at the moat. The Manor House itself was, some seven or eight years ago, faced with red brick, but I was told that previously it was more picturesque, and that there were diamond-paned windows, which now are a thing of the past. There are few traces indoors of the great age of the house. The walls have been plastered over in the passage, but doubtless to the restorer—if a sympathetic owner should ever take it in hand—there are many interesting relics of its great past to be unearthed.

Behind the building is an old orchard, and at the side of it is one of the most delightful of old gardens run wild. The present kitchen was the old chapel, and as one looks round and thinks of the glories of its past, the gorgeous vestments, the services, the honour in which it used to be held—perhaps, too, it was used as “sanctuary,” as many religious houses were in those riotous days—and I felt, the day I saw it, a great sense of its present desecration, as I looked round and saw the uncleared table, its half-empty mugs and dirty knives, and general unkemptness and slovenliness. Behind was what must have been the raised altar, or another smaller chapel. On the outside wall of the chapel is a curious



Fig. 2.—The Moat at Heggston Manor Farm.

moulding, that was only known to be in use at a certain date, and was not in later times at all used. One felt a great wish that, as the present occupier is anxious (or *was*, when I last spoke with him) to let it, or sell it, some one who cares for these relics of a past age, and could spend money on their restoration, should take it, as in many ways it would be an ideal spot if only it was properly cared for.

It was on a brilliant summer afternoon when I last saw the place, and I felt the sense of a host of past memories crowding on me as I stood in the old garden: memories of the wonderful man whose life's star had risen so brilliantly, only to go down in disgrace—as the world

calls it—disillusion, disappointment, and finally the grim act of tragedy which closed everything for him in this life. The friend of a king, who no sooner had been crowned, than from some unworthy feeling of jealousy or fear of losing some of his own royal power, he sought how to undo and level all that he had in a generous impulse, for friendship's sake, built up. There could have been little question that Beckett's decision to try all Churchmen in the Bishop's Court, and not in the King's Court, where the Barons had sway, was a just one: it was a known fact that the judges in the Bishop's Court were wiser and more skilled. The poor crowded in thousands to welcome back Beckett after his banishment—he was ever their friend—and no doubt, too, this fired up the King's jealousy as well.

Anyway, it was a great life, Beckett's, and all places where great men have lived or died should be to the antiquary sacred, and a gift to be preserved as a legacy from more picturesque ages than ours.

J. GIBERNE SIEVEKING.

Notices of New Publications.

"TRANSACTIONS OF THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY." Vol. xvi.—This volume opens with a good likeness of that amiable and able man, the President and Hon. Editor of the Society ever since its foundation, the late Chancellor Ferguson, and with a brief sketch of his career as an antiquary. He was the heart and soul of the Society, and will be sorely missed. The last of his series of upwards of a hundred papers for this society appears in the volume for 1900; it is "On Some Additions to the Collection of Local Chap-Books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana." The volume is of varied character, and gives promise of continued activity on the part of its members. The Rev. W. Slater Sykes has hit upon an original subject for an essay, namely, "The Pitch-pipes of the Rural Deanery of Gosforth." In the churches of that one deanery he has found no fewer than thirteen pitch-pipes of different ages, shapes, and styles still extant; they are well illustrated and carefully described. It would be well if investigations in this direction were made elsewhere, for such guides to harmony are rapidly disappearing, and are only to be met with in out-of-the-way districts. Mr. Haverfield gives a report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee of the great wall for 1899, when the discoveries were meagre. There are a variety of other papers, but that which gives real and abiding value to this issue are the eighty pages of Mr. St. John Hope's account of the Abbey of

St. Mary-in-Furness, with excellent illustrations and a most admirable ground-plan. We hope to see it re-issued in a separate form. The account includes full descriptions of the important results of the excavations undertaken by Mr. Hope in 1896, 1897, and 1898. The large plan in ten colours, indicating as many different dates, is a model of clearness, whilst the photographic illustrations, particularly the chapter-house and its approaches, are almost beyond praise. Mr. Hope's remarkable knowledge of the remains of all our English Cistercian houses serves him in good stead, and enables him to offer interesting explanations of every detail. His conclusion that the *conversi* came to an end after the great pestilence of 1349, when they were succeeded by lay brothers, is useful to remember when examining Cistercian churches, for after that date the nave would only be required for processions.

"THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE EAST RIDING ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY." Vol. viii.—This volume well sustains the growing repute of a young but vigorous society. It contains papers by Lord Hawkesbury on "The Heraldry of the Gateway of Kirkham Priory," by Lord Herries on the "Constables of Flamborough," by Canon Maddock on "The Court Rolls of Patrington Manors," by Rev. C. V. Collier on "Old Burlington," but here again (as in the last volume of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society) the chief paper is from the industrious pen of Mr. St. John Hope. Mr. Hope's account of Watton Priory is of absorbing interest. Of the Gilbertine Order, the only religious order of English foundation, and its twenty-six houses, little that is authoritative or even correct has as yet been published, so that the brief, clear account of the origin, rule, and intention of this double order of nuns and canons, with which the paper opens, is particularly welcome. At the time of the Suppression, only three of the Gilbertine houses remained double, namely, Chicksands (Beds.), Shouldham (Norfolk), and Watton (Yorks.). At neither of the two former of these houses are there any remains of value, so that the important house of Watton, of the clear annual value of £360 18s. 10d. when dissolved, is of much moment in elucidating the plan and working of this unique order. Up to 1893, there was nothing visible of the monastery save a block occupied as a farmhouse of considerable size, with a beautiful oriel, which proved to be the prior's lodgings, of fifteenth century date, but in that year excavations were begun under the direction of Mr. Hope and the Rev. Dr. Cox. The foundations of the priory church were soon brought to light, together with those of a cloister and surrounding buildings on the north side. Mr. Hope resumed operations on two or three occasions in subsequent years, and the highly interesting results may be thus epitomised. The church was 206 ft. long, and consisted of a presbytery, central tower, nave, north transept with two chapels, and a broad south aisle extending the length of the church, with a south transept and chapel. The arcade that separated the nave from the aisle, or rather divided the church into

two slightly unequal parts, stood upon a wall of some height, which formed a barrier to intercept the view of the nuns' portion of the church when the canons were using the south side. In the wall between the two chancels were remains of an opening that formed a *fenestra versatilis* or turn-table through which sacred vessels could be passed, or the nuns be communicated. The probable arrangements of the different buildings round the nuns' cloister are carefully explained, references being given to the elaborate Gilbertine statutes. From a doorway in the east wall of the sub-vault of the dorter, a covered passage only 5 ft. wide led eastward for 80 ft. to a small building, of which some scanty fragments remain. There seems little or no doubt that this was the *domus fenestra* or window-house of the statutes. Here would be the tiny slit (*fenestra parvula*) through which necessary conversation was carried on by carefully selected nuns and canons. Here, too, would be the large turn-table (*magna fenestra versatilis*) through which the food cooked by the nuns and the washing could be passed. This window-house would have two chambers, with the pierced wall between. Further east would be another passage or gallery leading to the cloister or court of the canons. The canons had a cloister 100 ft. square with vaulted alleys 14 ft. wide. This cloister had on the east the chapter-house, parlour, and warming-house, with the dorter above; on the south, the chapel; on the west, the hall; and on the north, the frater on a vaulted under-croft; attached to the south-west angle of this cloister was the prior's lodging. The ground-plan that accompanies this article has the merit of exceptional clearness, which pertains to all Mr. Hope's work in this direction. There are some good illustrations of the discoveries made in excavating the canons' cloister; it is a pity that none are given of the more interesting work uncovered in the nuns' cloister. Of the latter, Mr. Hodges, of Hexham, took some excellent photographs in 1893.

"OLD ENGLISH SINGING GAMES," by ALICE B. GOMME, illustrated by Edith Harwood (Georgé Allen), contains a collection of ten games, selected on account of their suitability to modern children in respect of words, actions, and tunes. Mrs. Gomme's *Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* is already favourably known to students of folk-lore who fully appreciate the value of these archaic survivals in throwing light on the past. The object of the present selection is not so much to trace their scientific significance as to popularise these singing games amongst the children of the present day, and thus perpetuate the existence of a pastime which is as harmless and amusing to the players as it is instructive to the lookers-on. Miss Harwood has evidently entered heart and soul into the games, with the result that her figures are full of action and the illustrations thoroughly in harmony with the wording of the songs. She must be congratulated also on the good decorative effect produced throughout, which is what, after all, attracts children even more than grown-up people. In one

picture we notice a little girl on the sands holding a wooden spade about 10 ft. long in her hand, but then we have seen much worse things on the line in the Royal Academy, so why call attention to a trifle which in no way affects its merit as a work of art? The book is well got up in all respects, with the exception of the method of binding. It is greatly to be regretted that the late John Ruskin's pet publisher should condescend to use what the Master would no doubt have called "altogether damnable" wire clips instead of good honest hand-stitching.

"ALFRED THE GREAT AND HIS ABBEYS," by J. CHARLES WALL (Elliot Stock), is one of the numerous little books the publication of which has received a stimulus from the approaching millenary celebration of the death of the great English King on the 26th of October. In the preface, written by the Very Rev. Dean Kitchin, Alfred the Great is represented to be a peace-at-any-price sort of crank, a view we do not think will be shared by many of his countrymen, although they may be as proud of his peaceful achievements as of his successes in war. The abbeys dealt with in this little volume are those of Hyde, Athelney, and Shaftesbury. In the account of Hyde Abbey due prominence is rightly given to the productions of the Winchester school of Anglo-Saxon illumination, of which, fortunately, many notable examples are still in existence. Amongst the finest of these, both from an historical and artistic point of view, is the *Vesp.* A. viii. manuscript in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, containing the well-known miniature representing King Edgar offering his charter for the New Minster at Winchester, A.D. 966, to God. Another specimen of the same school is the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert of Canterbury, now in the public library at Rouen, in France. The Psalter of Abbot Ælfwine in the British Museum (*Cotton, Titus*, D. xxvii.), which was also produced at Winchester, is specially interesting, because it gives the names of some of the scribes and artists by whom the MSS. were written and illuminated in the New Minster at the beginning of the eleventh century. Mr. Wall supplies full particulars about these MSS., and gives illustrations of a few of the pictures, including that of King Canute and his queen presenting his magnificent jewelled cross of gold to New Minster, from the Stowe MS. in the British Museum. The story of the cross, from its presentation to the Abbey in A.D. 984 to 1005 to its destruction by fire by Bishop Henry of Blois in A.D. 1129, is graphically told by Mr. Wall. The account given of the desecration of the tombs of Saxon kings, queens, and saints (including that of Alfred the Great), when the County Bridewell was erected on the site of Hyde Abbey in 1788, can hardly be pleasant reading for the descendants of the Goths and Vandals who perpetrated this barbarous outrage hardly more than a century ago. The inhabitants of Winchester now propose to celebrate the millenary of the sovereign whose grave their not remote ancestors violated, and whose bones were scattered by them to the four winds of heaven. Such is the inconsistency of human nature.

"THE HORNIMAN FREE MUSEUM AND RECREATION GROUNDS" does not bear the name either of the author or publisher, but as it was sent to us by Mr. R. Quick, the curator, we assume that he is in some measure responsible for its production. As perhaps many of our readers already know, the Horniman Museum is at Forest Hill, and within three minutes' walk of Lordship Lane station, on the L. C. & D. Railway. The germ from which the museum sprang was Mr. Horniman's private collection of curios, which increased year by year not only in value, but in bulk, until it filled a whole house. In 1890, Mr. Horniman, with great liberality, threw his museum open to the public, and he has since first extended it and finally rebuilt it entirely. The new building and its contents have this year been made over to the London County Council, together with five acres of recreation ground commanding magnificent views over the surrounding country from the Alexandra Palace, at Muswell Hill, on one side, to Knockholt Beeches, near Sevenoaks, on the other. The present museum has been erected from the designs of Mr. C. Harrison Townshend, F.R.I.B.A., at a cost of about £40,000, and is decorated with mosaics by Mr. R. Anning Bell. We are informed that the mosaic contains 117,000 *tesserae* (*sic*). The museum consists of two galleries at different levels, the lower, or south gallery, being appropriated to objects connected with archaeological and industrial art (in other words, those which relate to man and his works); whilst the upper, or north gallery, contains the zoological, geological, mineralogical, and botanical specimens (*i.e.*, the works of nature). The average daily number of visitors to the museum during the last ten years has been about 400, and, no doubt, this will be greatly increased when the attractions of the new museum become more widely known. The association of museums with recreation grounds and parks is a step towards the open-air collections which are so popular abroad. The Horniman Museum, being the result of private enterprise, is fortunately not hampered by the official tradition which is the curse of our establishments of a similar nature run by the Government. A few more museums of the Horniman type would soon wake up some of the old firms who still adhere to methods which are as archaic as the most fossilised of their mummies. This little monograph on the Horniman Museum is very tastefully printed and illustrated. We advise our readers to pay a visit to Mr. R. Quick, and beg, borrow, or steal a copy from him if he will not sell them one.

"A PURVEYANCE OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD IN THE ELIZABETHAN AGE," with introduction and notes by WALTER MONEY, F.S.A. (W. J. Blackett, Newbury, 1901).—This very interesting MS., which belongs to the Church of Whitchurch, Hants., is well worthy of publication, and antiquaries should be grateful that a writer of so much experience in these matters has undertaken the task. The record gives a list of all the tenants in several hundreds in the north of Hampshire, often describing their holdings, and

stating the amounts due from each to the royal household. The Editor, in his introduction, claims that the matter here set forth will throw much light on the economics of the village commune, which, with its open-field system, he goes on to describe; but it must be admitted that there is little, if any, information to be gleaned on this subject either from the MS. itself, the notes, or the introduction, which has not already been better put forward by Mr. Seebohm in his *English Village Community*. From this work of Mr. Seebohm's the author has evidently gathered most of his information on the subject, and it would perhaps have been better had he acknowledged this in the text.

In one point only does he differ from his informant, and that is on pages 10 and 11, where he proceeds to discuss the origin of the words *yardland* and *virgate*. The word *yard*, an enclosure, and *yard*, a measure of length, are, he tells us, from different sources, though later he derives them both from the Saxon *yearde*. A *virgate*, however, was so called, he states, from the rod of office held by the seneschal, by touching which the tenant was admitted to possession. These theories, though very interesting and possibly true, are by no means universally agreed to, and it would have been better had Mr. Money discussed the other views held on the subject, and given his reasons and authorities for these statements.

For instance, according to Professor Skeat, *yard*, an enclosed space, is derived from the Saxon *geard*, an enclosure, while *yard*, a rod, is from *gyrd* or *gierd*, a rod. Again, Mr. Seebohm says, "the whole homestead was called a *ton* or a *worth*, because it was *tynd* or *girded* with a wattled fence of *gyrds* or rods." If these authorities are to be trusted, a *yard* is either a rod or a space enclosed by rods, and a *yardland* would probably be an amount of land allotted to a yard, while *virgata terra* would be the Latin equivalent of the same. This seems to be the natural explanation, and it would be well, in any case, to disprove this before dogmatically asserting another view.

But in spite of such defects, the work will be very useful to anyone interested in these hundreds, and when used in conjunction with earlier and later surveys, may throw some additional light upon the open-field system, but as it stands it is a mine of information to the genealogist, besides giving considerable help to those who are collecting the various spellings of place-names.

"A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE" (Vijayanagar). By ROBERT SEWELL (London: Swan Sonnenschein).—This is a book of remarkable interest, and is divided into two distinct parts. The first 250 pages consist of a general history of Southern India, beginning with the origin of the Empire and the founding of the city of Vijayanagar in 1336. This is continued chapter by chapter to the close of the first dynasty in 1490, and then onward through the Kings of the second dynasty to the total destruction and sack of the great city in 1565. This sketch of the history of Southern India through two centuries,

when the south was entirely Hindu and the various Mohammedan States confined to the north, seems to be clearly and carefully done. It is most useful to have this story of what certainly is "a forgotten Empire" to the great majority of even well-read folk set forth in so interesting a manner.

But all this serves only as a prolonged introduction to the most valuable part of the volume. Two Portuguese chronicles of peculiar and unique value are now, for the first time, translated into English from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The oldest of these, written by Domingo Paes about 1520, gives a vivid and graphic account of his personal experiences at the great Hindu capital, at the period of its highest grandeur and magnificence. The second, written by Fernando Nuniz about 1536, contains the traditional history of the country gathered at first hand on the spot, together with a narrative of local and current events of the highest importance. Senor Lopes published these documents in the original Portuguese, at the National Press, Lisbon, in 1897. He writes in his introduction:—"Nothing that we know of in any language can compare with them, whether for their historical importance or for the description of the country, and especially of the capital, its products, customs, and the like."

The whole of the narrative of Domingo Paes is a masterpiece of descriptive writing. It is difficult to think of any other narrative that so vividly brings before the reader the actual scenes he depicts. We seem to actually see the King in the morning betaking himself to his great House of Victory for the daily performance of his prayers and ceremonies. In the square outside are many dancing girls. In the verandahs round the square are many of the captains and chief people as spectators. Near the platform entrance to the House are eleven horses with handsome trappings, and behind them four beautiful elephants with many adornments. The King ascends the platform, and with him a Brahman with a basket full of white roses. The King takes three handfuls of these roses and throws them to the horses, and afterwards censes them with a basket of perfumes. Afterwards he does the same to the elephants. Then the King enters the room where the idol is, and after a while the curtains of the room are lifted, and the King is seen there seated. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of 24 buffaloes and 150 sheep as a sacrifice. The heads are cut off at one blow with certain large sickles, and no blow misses. And thus Paes continues for several pages, descriptive of the daily routine of wondrous ceremonies that lasted for nine days at the great annual festival, beginning on the 12th December.

There is no subject whatever in which Englishmen ought to take so deep an interest as the terrible famines that so frequently devastate India under our rule. It is certainly not a fact, as some fondly imagine, that these famines were worse in days of yore, or that the English have been the first to introduce any well-ordered system of irrigation and the reserve of water supplies. Paes tells us of this great kingdom that it was very

well cultivated and very fertile, and provided with quantities of cattle—cows, buffaloes, and sheep. The whole country was thickly populated with cities and towns and villages; but the land had plenty of rice, Indian corn, grains, beans, and other kind of crops not sown in Europe, as well as an infinity of cotton. "This country wants water because it is very great and has few streams; they make lakes in which water collects when it rains, and thereby they maintain themselves. They maintain themselves by means of some in which there are springs better than the others, which have only the water from rain; for we find many quite dry, so that people go about walking in their beds, and dig holes to try and find enough water, even a little, for their maintenance."

J. CHARLES COX.

"THE CORONATION SERVICE."—*Three Coronation Orders*. Edited by J. Wickham Legg, F.R.C.P., F.S.A. (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. XIX., London, 1900.)—Some years ago it was no easy matter to obtain anything like a general idea of the English Coronation Service in its more strictly liturgical aspect. "Beyond a haphazard assignation of services to individual sovereigns," says Dr. Wickham Legg in the preface to this book, "very little seemed to have been done in the way of classification, or of investigation into the liturgical principles on which these services are constructed. Many of the editions of the later coronation services have been brought out by heralds; and by them, as indeed is only natural, more attention was paid to the ceremonial, than to the ritual parts of the coronation." The Henry Bradshaw Society has done much to remedy this state of things. Nearly ten years ago it reprinted the service of Charles I., and not long afterwards Dr. Wickham Legg edited the *Liber Regalis* in the Westminster Missal.

To rightly understand the scope of the present book and its place in the literature of the subject, it may be useful to give a short account of the different forms of the Coronation service and of what has been done in recent years towards making them accessible to students of liturgy and history.

English Coronation Services may be divided into two groups—those in English and those in Latin. The Latin services have come down to us in four distinct recensions, and the English in three, the first English recension being merely a translation of the last Latin. The first Latin recension exists in the Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York and in the Leofric Missal. It is easily accessible, having been printed several times; by Edmund Martene in his well-known work,¹ by the late Mr. Maskell,² by the Surtees Society in the reprint of Egbert's Pontifical, and by Mr. F. E. Warren in his edition of the Leofric missal. The next recension, of the eleventh century, and commonly called that of

¹ *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. ii., Cap. x., Ordo i.

² *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Oxford, 1882, Vol. ii., p. 77.

Æthelred II., has been printed by Dr. Henderson in Appendix III. to the Surtees Society's edition of the Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge of York.¹ Six copies are extant of this order, including those in the pontificals of Robert of Jumièges, St. Dunstan, and St. Thomas of Canterbury. Dr. Henderson has also printed a copy of the third recension as an appendix to the same book. This is a twelfth century order, and has been attributed—though with no good reason—to Henry I. There are some copies of it in twelfth and thirteenth century pontificals. The fourth and last Latin recension, known as the *Liber Regalis*, may be looked upon as a development of the third. It belongs to the fourteenth century and is sometimes referred to as the coronation service of Edward II. It exists in three forms distinguished by variations in the rubrics. The most fully developed has been printed in Vol. II. of the Westminster Missal (coll. 673-735), and a MS. of the earlier form is there collated with it. Another copy of this latter form may be found in the Pontifical of Bishop Lacy of Exeter, reprinted by Ralph Barnes in 1847.² The third form, taken from a Lincoln pontifical, is in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, Vol. III., pp. 1-81. More than a dozen copies of the *Liber Regalis* are known to us; most of them are in pontificals, but some few exist separately.

The first English recension is scarcely more than a translation of this last Latin recension. Liturgically, it could scarcely be called so much as a variant of it. The *Liber Regalis* not only survived the Reformation and was used in Latin in the crowning of Queen Elizabeth, but after it had been translated for the coronation of James I., it lived on with scarcely a change until after the Restoration. The coronation order of Charles I. has been printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society and edited by Mr. Christopher Wordsworth. With James II. came considerable alteration. He was a Roman Catholic and would not receive communion from the English clergy. So the coronation service was overhauled and the communion service was removed from it. Archbishop Sancroft was told to shorten it, keeping to essentials. He rode on the very top of his commission, and what he did shows that he had but little taste and less liturgical knowledge. Many of his alterations were meaningless and uncalled for. This was the second English recension, and it was unlike all that went before it and all that came after it. It was magnificently edited by Sandford, who did not, however, give the liturgical forms beyond the first words. In less than four years there came another coronation—that of William and Mary. Archbishop Sancroft refused to take the oaths and the revision of the service fell into the hands of Bishop Compton of London. He made the communion service a necessary part of the order again, besides other smaller changes. This third and

¹ It has also been printed, but from an imperfect MS., in John Selden's *Titles of Honor*, 1726, and in Arthur Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, 1820.

² Also in Vol. ii. of Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1818.

latest English recension as it left his hands came down through the eighteenth century, and was used with but little alteration for her late Majesty in 1838. It is in some respects an improvement on Sancroft's recension, for whether intentional or not, some of the most important of Compton's ceremonial changes were a return to more ancient practice.

The first of the three orders in the volume before us is an accurate reprint of the coronation service of William and Mary, from a MS. in the Heralds' College. In the notes, Dr. Legg gives an exhaustive collation of all the subsequent orders, so that by turning first to the William and Mary order and then to the notes all the variations can be seen at a glance. In the case of the liturgical forms peculiar to James II., Dr. Legg has supplemented Sandford by giving them in full from the MS. in the Heralds' College. To the service used for William and Mary there was added that for the coronation of the Queen Consort in the cases of Georges II. and III. and William IV. The order used for Queen Caroline is here given as an appendix collated with the later ones.

"THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF ST. ANDREW AT ROCHESTER. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A. (Mitchell & Hughes). Mr. Hope has produced a valuable and exhaustive architectural history of the cathedral church of Rochester. His special ability for tasks of this description is well known to all ecclesiologists and students of architecture. But in the case of Rochester Mr. Hope is exceptionally well equipped, for he was a resident in Rochester for four years during the "eighties," when he spent most of his leisure time in the examination and excavation of the precincts, and in thoroughly overhauling the whole of the ancient documents in the muniment room. The book is, in the main, a reprint from recent volumes of the *Transactions of the Kent Archaeological Society*, and we feel sure that the two hundred copies will speedily be secured. The two hundred and fifty pages are destitute of all trace of superfluity or padding, and are in Mr. Hope's usual clear style. The illustrations are numerous and good, whilst the six large folding plans, coloured according to the different periods, are most helpful. It is, without exception, the best architectural monograph on an English cathedral church that has yet been issued.

Partly underlying the northern end of the west front of the cathedral, and extending westward from it, the foundations of a small early church have lately been discovered. It consisted of an aisleless nave 42 ft. by 28 ft., with an eastern apse 24 ft. by 19 ft. If not Roman work, it was built in the Roman manner and by Roman materials. On the whole, Mr. Hope favours the idea that the Rochester foundations are those of a church built by Æthelbert in 604.

Complaints are made, which are all the more effective from being couched in moderate terms, of the unhappy recent interference with some

of the most interesting of Gundulf's Norman details by the intrusion of monuments for which there was ample space elsewhere. The church has undoubtedly been most unhappily maltreated both within and without during the nineteenth century, but we must be thankful for what is left. The quire still retains a good deal of what Mr. Hope considers to be the oldest wooden quire fittings in England, which date from 1227. These include the screen which forms the eastern face of the organ loft, parts of the old stalls, and almost the whole of the original forms in front of them. These forms would not be used for books, for the monks had to be content with the great office book that lay on the double lectern in the centre of the quire, "but were for the brethren to rest their elbows on when they were kneeling *prostrati super formas* during certain parts of the service."

To the ecclesiologist much of this book is delightful, irrespective of the particular interest pertaining to the actual fabric and its history. The account of the "Sunday procession," a weekly ceremony that had, as Mr. Hope says, a far greater influence than is usually recognised over the planning of buildings and the placing of screens and doorways, is most instructive. The Sunday procession before high mass consisted in visiting and sprinkling with holy water all the altars in the church and the various buildings round the cloisters, and concluded with a "station" before the great rood in the nave, when the bidding prayer was said, followed by the Lord's Prayer, certain versicles, and prayers for the faithful departed. The ceremony ended with a collect in the quire. During the procession an anthem was sung. Mr. Hope considers that the following was the order of the Rochester procession:—After the sprinkling of the high altar, of the minister, and all the convent in the quire, the procession went out through the north quire door to the shrine of St. William and the altar east of it, re-entered and crossed the quire and so through the south door to the altars on that side. Turning westward, the procession descended the steps into the quire aisle and passed down the steps into the crypt. After visiting the crypt altars, the procession passed out into the cloisters by the doorway in the midst of the north alley. Turning eastwards, the circuit of the offices was made in the following order—chapter-house, dorter, and rere-dorter, parlour, common house, frater, kitchen, cellarer's lodgings, returning by the west alley to the cloister door. Through this the procession entered into the church again, turned to the west, and passing through the screen visited the altar of Our Lady in the south transept and the altars of St. Ursula and the Holy Cross in the north transept. Here the procession again went westward, and passed into the nave, there to make the station in due order before the great rood above the nave altar.
